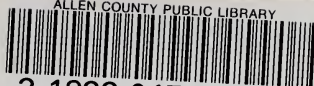


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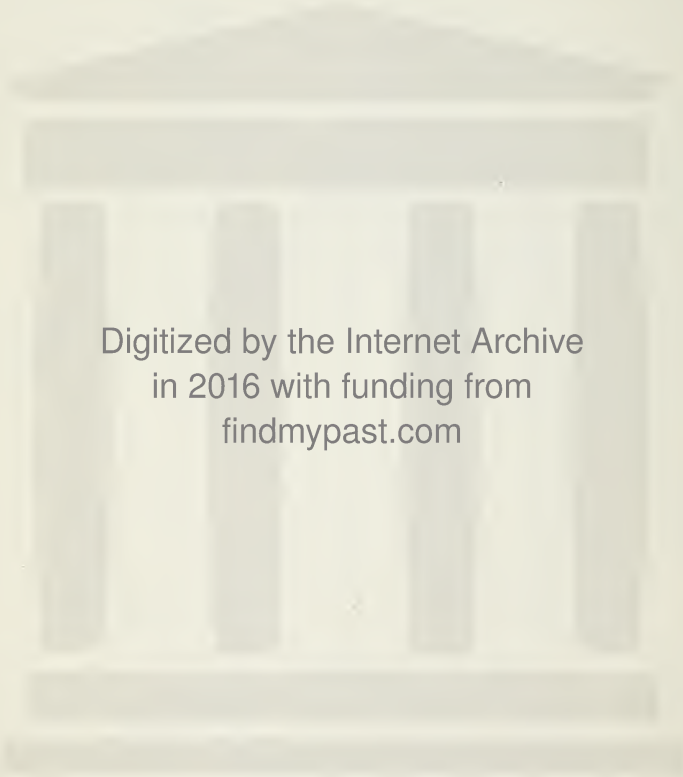
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March • 1963

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Maintains liaison with such allied groups as patriotic societies.

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Publishes scholarly works and low-cost school books and leaflets on Maryland history—over 50 different titles.

Holds meetings, open to the public, for lectures by authorities in various fields, including prominent government officials.

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1 1 1

For the Government of the State at cost

Edits, publishes and distributes the *Archives of Maryland*. 70th volume in preparation.

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Gifts of various funds, many of large amounts, have been received to advance the cause of historical preservation and increase appreciation of our Maryland heritage. These have been used for contemplated purposes for the benefit of the people of Maryland without direct advantage to the Society and have not been included in the general funds listed above.

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For the gift of objects, books and papers, far too numerous to list here, which have been received in the century and more since it was founded, the Society records this expression of its lasting gratitude. These contributions from countless members and friends have made the Society a major storehouse of state and national treasures.

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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Richard Walsh, Editor

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PUBLICATIONS



Studies in Maryland History

His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland. By Donnell M. Owings. 1953	\$ 6.00
Baltimore as Seen by Visitors, 1783-1860. By Raphael Semmes. Illustrated. 1953	\$ 4.00
William Buckland, 1733-1774. By Rosamond R. Beirne and John H. Scarff. 1958	\$ 7.50

Texts and References for School Use

My Maryland. By Kaessmann, Manakee and Wheeler. History of Maryland, revised edition. 1955	\$ 3.15
The Star Spangled Banner. Illustrated Booklet. Description of the writing of our national anthem by Francis Scott Key	\$.50
Indians of Early Maryland. By Harold R. Manakee. 1959	\$ 1.80
Maryland in the Civil War. By Harold R. Manakee. 1961	\$ 4.50
Early Explorations of the Chesapeake Bay. By Gilbert Byron. 1960	\$ 1.00
Wheeler Leaflets on Maryland History. (25 titles)	\$.10

Miscellaneous

The Maryland Press, 1777-1790. By Joseph T. Wheeler. 1938	\$ 4.00
Calendar of Otho Holland Williams Papers. By Elizabeth Merritt (mimeographed, paper covers). 1940	\$ 2.75
History of Queen Anne's County. By Frederic Emory. 1950	\$ 7.50
Descendants of Richard and Elizabeth (Ewen) Talbot of West River. Ida M. Shirk, comp. 1927	\$15.00
Semmes and Kindred Families. By Harry Wright Newman. 1956	\$10.00
The Hollyday and Related Families of the Eastern Shore of Mary- land. By James Bordley, Jr., M.D. 1962	\$10.00
The Regimental Colors of the 175th Infantry (Fifth Maryland). By H. R. Manakee and Col. Roger S. Whiteford. 1959	\$ 2.00

World War II

Maryland in World War II: Vol. I, Military Participation, 1950; Vol. II, Industry and Agriculture, 1951; Vol. III, Home Front Volunteer Services, 1958; Vol. IV, Gold Star Honor Roll, 1956. H. R. Manakee, comp.	\$ 3.25
History of the 110th Field Artillery, with Sketches of Related Units. By Col. John P. Cooper, Jr. Illustrated. 1953	\$ 5.00
History of the 175th Infantry (Fifth Md. Regt.) . by James H. Fitzgerald Brewer. 1955	\$ 5.00

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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Number 1

HENRY WINTER DAVIS: ORATOR FOR THE UNION

By RAYMOND W. TYSON

IN a letter to Whitelaw Reid, April 12, 1877, James G. Blaine observed: "One hundred years ago today Henry Clay was born . . . the most eloquent man who ever spake in the H. R., except Winter Davis."¹ Although Henry Winter Davis, fiery and eloquent Baltimore congressman of the Civil War era, and one of the most controversial personalities in the public life of that time, can scarcely be bracketed with Henry Clay for historical distinction, of the many Marylanders who have played a prominent role in the life of this nation, this Baltimorean deserves to occupy an honored place.

It would appear, however, that Noah Brooks, the well-known journalist and a close friend of Lincoln, was prophetic when he

¹ Royal Cortissoz, *The Life of Whitelaw Reid* (New York, 1921), I, 377.

stated that Davis, "except for his record as a persistent and radical critic of Lincoln's reconstruction policy, has not left any lasting trace of his public career."² Despite the fact that Davis did leave a deep impress on the period in which he was destined to live, he has become a vague figure, one lost among the multitude of personalities and events that make up a tragic chapter of our nation's past.

If the Marylander is remembered it is primarily as one of the authors (the principal one) of the Wade-Davis Manifesto, a document judged by many critics as unparalleled for its merciless attack upon a President of the United States. Davis denied the right of Lincoln to reconstruct the states which had seceded, claiming that power resided with Congress. When the President gave a pocket veto to the congressional plan introduced by the young Baltimorean in the House of Representatives, and passed by both Houses of Congress, the result was the scathing Manifesto which first appeared in the press in early August, 1864.³ The President's refusal to approve the congressional bill impelled Davis to declare that "a more studied outrage on the legislative authority of the people has never been perpetrated."

The hostility of Davis toward Lincoln and his administration began before the commencement of the epic struggle on reconstruction. Although not a Republican in 1860—he had supported Bell and Everett—the Marylander, because of his exceptional abilities and influence, and the fact that he came from a border state, was asked if he would accept the nomination for Vice President at the Republican national convention in Chicago.⁴ For various reasons Davis rejected the offer to be Lincoln's running mate. After the election he was strongly recommended for a cabinet post, a position which he very much desired. He had, in addition to substantial backing from his own state, the vigorous support of his cousin, the influential David Davis, and the Thurlow Weed-William H. Seward faction of New York.⁵ At one time on his behalf, "Governor Lane of

² *Washington in Lincoln's Time*, ed. by Herbert Mitgang (New York, 1958), p. 28.

³ *New York Daily Tribune*, August 5, 1864.

⁴ Thomas H. Dudley, "The Inside Facts of Lincoln's Nomination," *Century Magazine*, XL (July, 1890), 478.

⁵ Willard L. King, *Lincoln's Manager David Davis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), pp. 174-175.

Indiana and sixty-nine members of Congress petitioned the President-elect for Winter Davis's appointment as Postmaster General."⁶ Rumors of his being appointed to the cabinet persisted as late as February, 1861.⁷ It was even announced that Lincoln would nominate him for the Supreme Court.⁸ The President, however, refused to include the Baltimorean in his official family, selecting instead the equally controversial Montgomery Blair, a fellow-Marylander and bitter rival of Davis for political control of that all-important border state. Of the Blair-Davis feud, one historian wrote: "It is a familiar fact that Abraham Lincoln was beset by countless problems during his service in the White House. Few situations, however, proved so difficult for the War President as the fierce rivalry of Henry Winter Davis and Montgomery Blair, the two most influential Union leaders in Maryland."⁹

The rebuff by the President deeply wounded the pride of the ambitious Davis, and from that time on, Lincoln found himself with a sharp and unrelenting critic who appeared to seize every possible occasion to vent his attacks upon the policies of the administration. The foreign policy of Secretary of State Seward and the management of the Navy by Gideon Welles were among the prime targets for assault by Davis on the floor of the House of Representatives. He exhibited little tolerance for the temporizing tactics which Lincoln occasionally displayed on some issues. As a bitter foe of the President's plan for the reconstruction of the South, which the Marylander deemed too lenient, as well as being a gross usurpation of the legislative prerogative, he was one of the major irritants that the President had to contend with throughout his turbulent administration. In fact, claimed the *New York Times*, "President Lincoln had few more formidable opponents than Winter Davis."¹⁰

Henry Winter Davis was born on August 16, 1817, at Annapolis, Maryland. His father, an Episcopal rector, was for a time president of St. John's College. Young Davis was gradu-

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁷ See *New York Times, Herald, Daily Tribune*, from November, 1860, through February, 1861.

⁸ *New York Times*, February 21, 1861; March 29, 1861.

⁹ Reinhard H. Luthin, "A Discordant Chapter in Lincoln's Administration: The Davis-Blair Controversy," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIX (March, 1944), 25.

¹⁰ September 7, 1866.

ated from Kenyon College in 1837, where he received a sound classical education and laid the foundation for his skill in public address in later life by his enthusiastic participation in the speaking and forensic exercises of the literary societies. After studying law at the University of Virginia for the term 1839-40, he began the practice of his profession at Alexandria, Virginia. In 1850 Davis moved to Baltimore, and that city became his home for the remainder of his life. He had by that time established himself as a very successful lawyer, and at once took an active part in the cultural and political life of the city.¹¹

Originally a Whig, Davis, at the dissolution of that party with the defeat of Scott in 1852, joined, as did so many Southern Whigs, the American or Know Nothing party. As a member of that organization he was first elected to the House of Representatives for the Thirty-fourth Congress in 1855 from the Fourth Congressional District of Baltimore. He was returned to the Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth Congresses. Davis's campaigns for re-election were violent and bloody, and on two occasions his opponents contested his right to a seat in the House. A militant segment of his supporters was composed of one of the most vicious mobs in the city of Baltimore, the notorious "Plug Uglies." How Davis, an aristocrat by temper and training, was able to dominate this brutal element of his constituency was much debated in his day, and still remains one of the enigmas of his public life. He was never able to erase completely the stigma of that association or his open avowal of the principles of Know Nothingism.

In a remarkably short time the Maryland Representative became the leading spokesman for the American party in the House. By the boldness of his statements and the compelling manner in which they were pronounced, Davis attracted national attention very early in his congressional career. The South became incensed by his refusal to support their interests and by his blistering attacks on the administrations of Pierce and Buchanan. His speeches during the sessions of the Thirty-fourth and Thirty-fifth Congresses were, for the most part,

¹¹ Bernard C. Steiner's *Life of Henry Winter Davis* (Baltimore, 1916), is the only full-length biography of the Baltimorean.

political harangues in which he extolled the virtues of the American party and ascribed all the ills of the country to the Democratic party. But one speech made only a few months after his election to the House was significant. On August 7, 1856, the Marylander delivered a severe criticism of the administration and the newly-formed Republican party. Two places in the address, however, lifted it above the ordinary political fustian, and presaged the stand Davis would take when the great crisis finally arrived in 1860-61. He denounced the threats of disunion which had been made by Southern members in the event Fremont was elected, declaring dissolution of the Union "means death, the suicide of liberty, without hope of resurrection—death without the glory of immortality . . . ; they who speak in earnest of a dissolution of this Union seem to me like children or madmen. . . . Sir, it is portentous to hear the members of a party contesting for the Presidency, menace dissolution and revolution as the penalty they will inflict on the victors for defeating them. People who do not hold the Union worth four years' deprivation of office are scarcely safe depositaries of its powers!" As for Maryland, Davis wanted it to be known that "she knows but one country and but one Union. Her glory is in it. Her rights are bound up in it. Her children shed their blood for it, and they will do it again."¹² With this address Henry Winter Davis took his stand, a stand from which he was never to waver; with this address he served notice to his Southern colleagues that he was not to be identified with their interests or objectives. It was with this speech that the young Baltimore lawyer first emerged as a forceful and eloquent spokesman for the Union. Before his first term in Congress had ended, a Washington reporter for the *Charleston Courier*, though reprimanding Davis for his "want of fidelity to the institutions he represents," informed his paper that the Marylander's "maiden speech was pronounced to be a masterpiece, even his opponents admitting that his oratory was copious and brilliant. . . . We consider him proficient in the formal parts of the higher order of oratory."¹³ The *New York Times* concluded that "few members of

¹² *Congressional Globe*, 34th Congress, 1st Session, p. 1245.

¹³ Quoted from the *New York Times*, January 21, 1857.

Congress have achieved a more marked success, or made a more brilliant *debut* in public life, than Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland.”¹⁴

During his second term in Congress Davis infuriated the South by his opposition to the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution and by his extremely caustic denunciations of the Buchanan administration. The *Atlanta Intelligencer* reflected the prevailing sentiment of that section when it considered that “no one is doing the South more injury by his course in Congress than is Henry Winter Davis.” But this paper did concede that the Marylander was “undoubtedly a man of great ability. As leader of the American party . . . in Congress, he is without a peer, standing head and shoulders taller than any of his party there, and exercising an influence that not any five of them can claim to exert.”¹⁵ A less charitable view was expressed by the *Semi-Weekly Mississippian*, which labeled Davis a “political traitor,” and asserted that he “was not a fit Representative for a Southern constituency.”¹⁶

But it was during the tumultuous proceedings of the Thirty-sixth Congress, which convened on December 5, 1859, that Winter Davis was to become, what the *New York Times* had observed over a year before, “one of the best abused men of the day.”¹⁷ This Congress was a crucial one; it was the last session in which the North and South were to meet in the legislative arena until after the momentous years of 1861-65. The Republicans had a slender majority, but were unable to organize the House and elect the Speaker without the support of the American party. With the aid of the Americans, the Democrats had a good chance to elect the Speaker. In an atmosphere of mutual recrimination and violence the balloting went on for seven weeks, until Davis broke the deadlock by casting his vote for the Republican candidate, William Pennington of New Jersey. For that act of alleged apostasy he was censured, by a vote of 62 to 1, by the House of Delegates of the Maryland Legislature.¹⁸

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, January 21, 1857.

¹⁵ Quoted from the Jackson *Semi-Weekly Mississippian*, March 5, 1858.

¹⁶ September 16, 1859.

¹⁷ January 30, 1858.

¹⁸ *Journal of the House of Delegates*, 1860, p. 354; *New York Times*, February 10, 1860.

The fury of the South knew no bounds, and practically the entire Southern press let loose a torrent of editorial virulence on the Baltimorean, accusing him of deserting the South at a critical time by voting for a "Black Republican" for Speaker. The Washington *Constitution* indicted Davis as "an unworthy son who deserves to be driven from the home he has betrayed . . . the most deadly enemy of the Union, and particularly of the Southern States."¹⁹ The *Daily Picayune* of New Orleans condemned "the treachery of Davis," and prayed that "he be rewarded according to his work."²⁰ George Dennison Prentice, editor of the Louisville *Daily Journal*, declared that in the great emergency Davis, "an American member of Congress from the city of Baltimore, representing a slaveholding district, betrayed, basely betrayed, a constituency . . . betrayed them into the hands of their enemies—and betrayed them without apology or sign of remorse."²¹ Throughout the South the name of Winter Davis was anathema; he was pilloried in paper after paper, and in some places hanged in effigy.

Davis made two speeches in the Thirty-sixth Congress which won him wide acclaim and entitled him to be ranked among the foremost orators for the Union. On February 9, 1860, the Maryland House of Delegates passed its resolution of censure. The young congressman answered this act of his state legislature on February 21, by castigating with withering sarcasm the Democratic legislators for their action. He accused them and their party of treasonous activity in the state, repudiated the charge that the Republican party was involved with John Brown, and concluded with a defiant and compelling defense of his vote for Pennington.²² In the course of the address, Davis made his position as a representative unmistakably clear: "I, sir, have no apologies to make. . . . I told my constituents that I would come here a free man, or not at all; and they sent me here on that condition. I told them that if they wanted a slave to represent them, they could get plenty; but I was not one." The speech, and its presentation, was an impressive performance; even in reading it today one catches more than a

¹⁹ February 3, 1860.

²⁰ February 7, 1860.

²¹ Quoted from the *Natchez Daily Free Trader*, March 10, 1860.

²² *Congressional Globe*, 36th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 117-121.

little of the force and spirit and indignation which motivated the eloquence of the speaker. James G. Blaine thought the address a brilliant defense, and wrote that for "eloquence of expression, force and conclusiveness of reasoning, it is entitled to rank in the political classics of America as Burke's address to the electors of Bristol does among those of England."²³ Years later, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., in a reference to Davis and the occasion, stated: "I heard him deliver from the floor of the House one of the most effective, if not the most effective speech I ever listened to."²⁴

The other notable speech delivered by Davis in this Congress came on February 7, 1861.²⁵ This was the most important speech in his career to that time. Considering the strong secession sentiment in Maryland, and especially in Baltimore, the address was an act of personal and political courage. After asservating the strongest devotion to the Union, and appealing for a united front against all those who would destroy the nation, the Marylander proclaimed that Maryland would not secede. He said he spoke for "the people of Maryland, who are loyal to the United States," and continued by declaring: "In Maryland we are dull and cannot comprehend the right of secession. We do not recognize the right of Maryland to repeal the Constitution of the United States. . . . We in Maryland will submit to no attempt of a minority, or a majority, to drag us from under the flag of the Union." The speech was received with great enthusiasm by all those loyal to the Washington government. Coming at an extremely critical time, with confusion and indecision prevailing among Northern leaders, and from one of the most influential political figures of the border states, the fearless and decisive utterances of Davis contributed measurably to strengthening the morale of Union supporters. Of the Marylander's activity in the trying days of the Thirty-sixth Congress, Henry Adams wrote: "Mr. Winter Davis in the House struck out fiercely at disunion like Andrew Johnson in the Senate, and with the same success."²⁶ The speeches of Davis through this

²³ James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years in Congress* (Norwich, Conn., 1884), I, 499.

²⁴ Charles Francis Adams—*An Autobiography* (Boston, 1916), p. 46.

²⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 36th Congress, 2d Session, Appendix, pp. 181-185.

²⁶ *The Great Secession Winter of 1860-61 and Other Essays*, ed. by George Hockfield (New York, 1958), p. 14.

period merit inclusion among the best oratory of the Civil War era. But his vote for Pennington and the vigorous activity of the secession element in his district helped to defeat him in his bid for re-election to the Thirty-seventh Congress.

In 1863 Davis was returned as an Unconditional Unionist to the Thirty-eighth Congress. He was made chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and in that capacity launched his attacks on the foreign policy of Seward, asserting that Congress had the right "to proclaim and prescribe the foreign policy of the United States."²⁷ When an appropriation bill for the Navy was reported to the House, the *Marylander* criticized the administration of that branch of the armed service, and advocated the creation of a Board of Admiralty to manage the affairs of the department.²⁸ The proposal, if it had been adopted, would have taken from the Secretary much of his administrative authority. Gideon Welles never forgave the congressman for that action. Davis's strenuous opposition to Lincoln's plan for reconstruction was voiced in the sessions of that Congress.²⁹ To many of his contemporaries he became, as Nicolay and Hay put it, "one of the most severe and least generous critics of the Administration in Congress."³⁰ The *Baltimore American* snappishly reminded its readers that "Mr. Davis has devoted his whole time in Congress to embarrassing the Administration. . . ." ³¹ Before the famous Thirty-eighth Congress expired, he had become one of the leaders in the House for the Radical faction of the Republican party. According to the historian William E. Dodd, during that period Davis "was more the master of that body than Thaddeus Stevens himself."³²

But the efforts of Winter Davis in the Thirty-eighth Congress extended far beyond the role of gadfly to the Lincoln administration. He distinguished himself by bringing his superior talents to the support of some of the most vital questions of the hour. In a dynamic speech he defended the right of the

²⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 38th Congress, 2d Session, pp. 48-53.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Appendix, pp. 34-40.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1st Session, Appendix, pp. 82-85; 38th Congress, 2d Session, pp. 969-970.

³⁰ *Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1917), IX, 114.

³¹ June 8, 1864.

³² "Henry Winter Davis," *DAB* (New York, 1930), V, 120.

Negro to remain in this country when it was proposed to expatriate the freed slaves. He deemed any plan of colonization as unthinkable. Since "the folly of our ancestors and the wisdom of the Almighty . . . having allowed them to come here and planted them here, they have a right to remain here, and they will remain here to the latest recorded syllable of time."³³ When the question came before the House to expel Alexander Long of Ohio, for statements uttered on the floor which were construed as treasonous, Davis gave one of his most stirring presentations. Long, with other Peace Democrats, had advocated recognition of the Confederacy and bringing the war to a close. The Marylander delivered a smashing attack on this proposition, and was unsparing in his invective on those who were disposed to negotiate a settlement with the Richmond government.³⁴ The speech was a powerful appeal for the utmost in sacrifice to bring the war to a triumphant conclusion.

In the opinion of many of his colleagues, Davis attained his highest level of statesmanship, as well as achieving his greatest oratorical success, in the second session of the Thirty-eighth Congress. He came out on behalf of an amendment that no person should be tried by a court-martial, or a military commission in any state or territory where the Federal courts were open, except persons actually in the military service or those persons charged with being spies. He vehemently and eloquently defended the right of every citizen to his personal liberty, and with extreme bitterness denounced Secretary of War Stanton for the arbitrary arrests of civilians and the use of military courts to try civilians. He gave two outstanding speeches on this issue, the second, on March 2, 1865, was his last major address in the House.³⁵ Whitelaw Reid judged these presentations to be "of magnificent power and unsurpassed bitterness."³⁶ One critic, not favorably disposed towards Davis because of the latter's hostility to Lincoln, wrote that the Marylander's "zeal for civil liberty will contribute his best claim to the gratitude of posterity," and added that the orator "possessed literary gifts scarcely surpassed by any statesman then in public

³³ *Congressional Globe*, 38th Congress, 1st Session, Appendix, pp. 44-46.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1549-1552.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 2d Session, pp. 318-320; pp. 1324-1328.

³⁶ *New York Times*, January 14, 1866.

life.”³⁷ An Ohio Democrat, Samuel S. Cox, who had opposed Davis on more than one question, stated that in these speeches Davis “reproduced the elegance of Pinckney, with the cogency of Wirt.” At a time when personal liberty “became almost as indispensable to our country and its institutions as the Federal Union itself,” wrote the Ohioan, “it was Henry Winter Davis who rose to the front rank of debate, and by his silvery style and cogent logic held Congress almost enthralled until something was accorded to the dignity of personal and public liberty which had been invaded by the excesses of the war.”³⁸

The speaking of Davis for the Union cause was not limited to the floor of the House of Representatives. Throughout the war period he spoke frequently at large Union mass meetings all over the North. Many of these addresses were reported in their entirety, and on the front page, in the major newspapers of the North. He spoke in Philadelphia, Newark, Brooklyn, New York, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Baltimore, and in many smaller cities. He was in constant demand as a speaker for these Union rallies and was always received with the greatest enthusiasm. Davis's reputation as a platform orator equalled, if not surpassed, his legislative one. These occasions provided a much wider area for his oratorical talents. He was able to indulge much more freely in emotionally charged language, sarcasm, and invective; he was restricted neither by the limitations of time nor the necessity of observing parliamentary decorum. In all speeches of this type Davis urged an unswerving allegiance to the Union, and bitterly lashed out at persons and factions impeding a vigorous prosecution of the war effort. He was not above criticizing the administration for failing to achieve speedier results, and for failing to institute more decisive measures. As an example, in a speech at Philadelphia he argued for the arming of Negro troops, a step opposed by many conservative Republicans and the Democrats. “No better illustration of platform eloquence,” wrote a local historian, “can be desired than the masterly speech by the Hon. Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, in Concert Hall, Philadelphia, on September 24, 1863.”³⁹

³⁷ Charles H. McCarthy, *Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction* (New York, 1901), p. 283.

³⁸ *Three Decades of Federal Legislation* (Providence, R. I., 1885), pp. 234, 238.

³⁹ *Chronicle of the Union League of Philadelphia, 1862-1902* (Philadelphia), p. 149.

Despite his antagonism to Lincoln, which eventually culminated in his expending considerable effort to prevent the President's renomination, Davis never wavered in his loyalty to the Union. From the very beginning he was an arch-enemy of secession and remained to the end an eloquent advocate for a relentless prosecution of the war. Although born in a slave state, and at one time a slaveholder, he disliked intensely the institution of slavery, and played a leading role in the emancipation movement in his state. In his eulogy on Davis in the House of Representatives, February 22, 1866, John Creswell, then United States Senator from Maryland, declared that the Baltimorean's "crowning glory was his leadership of the emancipation movement."⁴⁰ Noah Brooks, certainly no champion of Davis, was moved to write: "Henry Winter Davis . . . was a constant and ardent supporter of all measures that had for their purpose the abolition of slavery. . . . As a stump speaker [he] was brilliant, effective, and widely popular; and his services in the emancipation movement in Maryland were above all value."⁴¹

Maryland, as a border state, was of the utmost importance to the Union. A great deal of the credit for keeping Maryland from joining the Confederacy has been attributed to the work of Davis. "To him before and above all other men is due the maintenance of loyalty in Maryland," wrote James G. Blaine.⁴² Creswell in his eulogy proclaimed: "Let free Maryland never forget the debt of eternal gratitude she owes to Henry Winter Davis."⁴³ Ainsworth Spofford, for over thirty years in charge of the Library of Congress, expressed the sentiment of a great body of his contemporaries when he stated that Maryland was kept in the Union "by the influence of a few patriotic leaders, of whom Henry Winter Davis was the foremost."⁴⁴ At the time of his death, the *New York Times* noted that the Marylander, "though a man of strong Southern feeling, remained faithful to the government, and exerted his great influence and personal popularity to keep his State from joining the Secession govern-

⁴⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 39th Congress, 1st Session, Appendix, p. 162.

⁴¹ Noah Brooks, *Statesmen* (New York, 1893), p. 183.

⁴² Blaine, I, 498.

⁴³ *Congressional Globe*, 39th Congress, 1st Session, Appendix, p. 163.

⁴⁴ "Washington Reminiscences," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXI (June, 1898), 753.

ment. For this course he was exposed to much abuse and misrepresentation from old associates and friends; . . .”⁴⁵

But what especially has been forgotten today, is that in a period which called forth some of the best political oratory in our history, Henry Winter Davis was judged to be not just a *good* speaker, but a speaker of electrifying effectiveness, an orator of rare distinction. “They are burying there [Baltimore],” lamented Whitelaw Reid at the time of Davis’s funeral, “the most brilliant orator and lucid thinker who has strengthened our national councils through the war for the Union.”⁴⁶ This was, to be sure, a highly partisan judgment; it was, nonetheless, one held by many qualified and discerning critics of the day. It is an interesting fact that there have been few men in our history who have received greater encomiums for their eloquence than the oratory of Davis elicited from his contemporaries. There were sharp and intense differences of opinion regarding many of his political activities and the motives underlying some of his public behavior. A close investigation of his career reveals that he was far from being always right in his judgments or in the course of action which he on occasion pursued. On the subject of his effectiveness as a speaker, however, there was an astonishingly high degree of unanimity. His power with the spoken word was seldom described without the use of superlatives or in an excessively laudatory manner. From the very inception of his professional and public life the young Baltimorean’s oratory was the object of unqualified admiration.

Long after Davis’s death there were expressions of lavish praise from men who had had the opportunity of listening to him in the House and on the hustings. Chauncey Depew, in a speech at Albany, New York, January 10, 1897, in reminiscing about some of the outstanding personalities and events it had been his good fortune to witness in his younger days, declared, among other things, that he had “listened to one of the most electric and magnetic debaters who ever stood in a representative body, Winter Davis, of Maryland.”⁴⁷ “Among

⁴⁵ December 31, 1865.

⁴⁶ *New York Times*, January 14, 1866.

⁴⁷ *Orations, Addresses and Speeches of Chauncey M. Depew*, ed. by John Denison Champlin (New York, 1910), II, 213.

the living orators of the country," wrote Charles Sumner in a lofty tribute, "he had few peers."⁴⁸ To Carl Schurz, Davis was "an orator of rare brilliancy,"⁴⁹ while to Henry Wilson, whose public service included terms in the House and Senate, and as Grant's Vice President, he was "an orator with few to contend his palm of superiority." Wilson added that, "few men ever addressed either house with more commanding and thrilling eloquence."⁵⁰

From his colleagues in the House of Representatives there comes a substantial body of testimony of the exalted place accorded to the Marylander as an orator. Many of these men, distinguished speakers themselves, asserted that Davis had no rival as an orator. Samuel S. Cox, a veteran of over a quarter of a century service in the House, recorded this judgment: "In the writer's opinion he was the best orator, in every sense of the word, whom he ever heard in Congress."⁵¹ Although John Sherman of Ohio, another veteran of Congress and public life, thought Davis "a poor parliamentarian, a careless member in committee, and utterly unfit to conduct an appropriation or tariff bill in the House," he did think he "was the most accomplished orator in the House while he was a member."⁵² Maine's Justin Morrill labeled Davis "the most eloquent speaker in the House of Representatives,"⁵³ and Indiana's George W. Julian declared he was "the most formidable debater in the House."⁵⁴ One of the Marylander's orations was judged by Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts, with whom Davis had more than one verbal clash on the reconstruction issue, of such "grandeur and force" that "it will suffer in comparison with none of the great orations, ancient or modern, which have become classic standards."⁵⁵ "In all that pertained to the graces of oratory," exclaimed Blaine, "he was un-

⁴⁸ Steiner, p. 381.

⁴⁹ *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, ed. by Frederic Bancroft and William A. Dunning (New York, 1908), III, 102.

⁵⁰ *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America* (Boston, 1874-1877), III, 38-39.

⁵¹ Cox, p. 237.

⁵² *Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate and Cabinet* (Chicago, 1895), I, 194.

⁵³ "Notable Letters from My Political Friends," *Forum*, XXIV (September, 1897), 137.

⁵⁴ *Political Recollections, 1840-1872* (Chicago, 1884), p. 360.

⁵⁵ "Has Oratory Declined?" *Forum*, XVIII (October, 1894), 147.

rivaled.”⁵⁶ James A. Garfield once said of Davis that his eloquence was “clear and cold, like starlight.”⁵⁷

Some of the leading journalists of the Civil War era, who had witnessed the young orator from the press gallery in the House and elsewhere, were equally impressed with his oratorical power and his skill in commanding the attention of his auditors. Whitelaw Reid, who covered Washington for the *Cincinnati Gazette* during most of the war years, in describing the extreme difficulty that a speaker encountered in attempting to hold the attention of the House, an assembly which exhibited in those days on occasion the rowdiest kind of behavior, wrote this tribute to Davis’s ability to secure the attention of his legislative colleagues:

At times he was a frequent speaker; and the House always reprobates much speaking by refusing to listen to it, yet of all the House he was absolutely the only member who could at any moment, or under any circumstances, command its undivided attention. I have seen even Thad. Stevens speaking in the midst of as much confusion as ever prevailed in a large primary school during a temporary absence of the teacher; but I never saw Winter Davis address the Chair two minutes till there was a sudden hush among all the members, and every eye was turned from documents or letters to the member from Maryland.⁵⁸

Henry Adams noticed Davis’s compelling manner in getting and sustaining the attention of the House: “It is very seldom in that noisy, tumultuous body that any member can command silent attention; but when Mr. Davis rose, members dropped their newspapers, put down their pens, stopped their conversation and crowded around him. He regularly conquered their admiration. . . .”⁵⁹ Noah Brooks did not think the Marylander a “ready debater,” but he considered him “an eloquent and able man . . . a brilliant speaker,” and possessing “a compact and direct way of putting things which always commanded close attention.”⁶⁰ The recollections of Spofford corroborated these observations. He, too, noted “the characteristics of Henry

⁵⁶ Blaine, I, 499.

⁵⁷ Brooks, p. 28.

⁵⁸ *New York Times*, January 14, 1866.

⁵⁹ Adams, p. 17.

⁶⁰ Brooks, p. 28.

Winter Davis as an orator were so marked as always to hold the attention of his hearers. I heard him often in the House of Representatives, when the hush of absorbed listeners was such that even his slightest tones penetrated to the remotest corners of the galleries."⁶¹ The publisher of the *Washington Daily Chronicle* at that period, John W. Forney, who had also served as Clerk in the House, contended that Davis was "the most incisive and brilliant orator of his time."⁶² Horace Greeley wrote that the House of Representatives had listened to Davis as it listens to few men.⁶³

Winter Davis was slightly above medium height, and was noted for the neatness of his dress. Henry Adams thought that Davis's "very appearance told to a certain degree in his favor," and referred to the "scrupulous nicety of his dress." To Adams, Davis "was among the very few men in the House who appears like a quiet, educated, well-bred gentleman."⁶⁴ The young Charles Francis Adams also commented on the Baltimorean's quiet manner and the fact that he "was extremely careful in his dress."⁶⁵ Sumner felt that "nature had done much for this remarkable man. Elegant in person, elastic in step and winning in manner, he arrested the attention of all who saw him, and when he spoke, the first impressions were confirmed."⁶⁶ At the time of his vote for Pennington for Speaker in the Thirty-sixth Congress, a Washington correspondent for the *New York Times* who signed his dispatches "Nobody," gave this remarkably accurate pen portrait of the Marylander:

This slave-holding Plug Ugly Republican, Winter Davis, is one of the most striking and graceful men on the floor—certainly not surpassed by any member. He is a young man of middle height, broad-chested, roundly built, with a large and well-balanced head, regular features, pale complexion, a neat brown mustache, large and sparkling eyes, brown hair, and the expression of habitual study. He wears a frock coat buttoned in the English fashion, broad shirt collar turned down over a loose black neck-tie, and, on the whole, he somewhat recalls the familiar portraits of Lord Byron. As a speaker he bears the very first reputation in the House. . . .⁶⁷

⁶¹ Spofford, p. 753.

⁶² *Anecdotes of Public Men* (New York, 1873), I, 374.

⁶³ Steiner, p. 380.

⁶⁴ Adams, p. 18.

⁶⁵ *Charles Francis Adams*, p. 46.

⁶⁶ Steiner, p. 380.

⁶⁷ February 3, 1860.

One of the characteristics of the young orator which caught the attention of so many of his contemporaries, was the boyishness of his figure. Cox, who recalled "a certain boyishness in manner and figure," stated, however, that "this wore off the moment he began to speak."⁶⁸ Most observers confirm the fact that Davis was reserved in manner, even haughty, aristocratic in bearing, and always well dressed and in fashion. He was not, in the words of Whitelaw Reid, "'popular' in the coarse sense of that word."⁶⁹

There is some evidence that Davis's vocal quality contributed more than a little to his effectiveness as a speaker. Brooks stated that "he had a high, clear, ringing voice, and a manner of speaking which was peculiar in its sharpness and firmness."⁷⁰ Spofford, waxing somewhat more poetically, described his voice as being "a finely modulated voice . . . singularly sweet, almost musical in its more effective tones, and in loftier passages rousing the hearer like the sound of a trumpet."⁷¹ A writer for the *Charleston Courier* gave this typical nineteenth-century critique of Davis's voice: "He possesses, in a high degree, a facility of fluent and sonorous speech, and an imposing and well-rounded elocution. He has a peculiar mellowness and deep sweetness of voice, the lower tones of which might be compared to the most delicate notes of an organ."⁷² Forney referred to Davis's "sharp tenor voice,"⁷³ a description probably closer to its actual character. There is considerable testimony from his contemporaries that the Marylander had an energetic and forceful delivery style. "The rapidity of his utterance, and the impetuosity of his speech," wrote one admiring colleague, "bore down everything before it."⁷⁴ Charles Sumner was quoted as saying that Davis "was rapid and direct. He went straight to the point."⁷⁵

The Baltimore Unionist, however, brought much more than neat and fashionable dress, aristocratic bearing, and a clear and well-modulated voice to the public life of his day. He brought a thoroughly good mind and superb intellectual equipment. More than one of his colleagues recognized his superior

⁶⁸ Cox, p. 237.

⁶⁹ *New York Times*, January 14, 1866.

⁷⁰ Brooks, p. 28.

⁷¹ Spofford, pp. 753-754.

⁷² From *New York Times*, January 21, 1857.

⁷³ Forney, I, 57.

⁷⁴ Julian, p. 360.

⁷⁵ Steiner, 380.

intelligence. Davis was a scholar, "that rare specimen of the scholar in politics," as one contemporary noted. He was extremely well read in the classics, English literature, history, philosophy, and the law. He had an excellent reading knowledge of Latin, Greek, French, and German. The majority of the examples used by Davis in his speeches were taken from American political and judicial history, although his intellectual tastes were eclectic and illustrations abound in his addresses from the literature and history of other nations and times.

Most of Davis's speeches possessed an incisive quality; they were direct, compact, and reasonably free from the diffuseness which characterized the congressional speech of his day. Devoid of rhetorical extravagances, his speeches seldom lost their cogency. This attribute of clarity was one of the primary virtues of his presentations in the estimation of his contemporaries. As one reads his speeches today, it is not difficult to see how his listeners judged them to possess that quality: they read easily, smoothly. Whitelaw Reid stated that "the great characteristics of Mr. Davis's oratory were its lucidity, its condensed logic, its elegant, epigrammatic style, and its apparently perfect spontaneity."⁷⁶ A modern student has written that "his rhetorical style reads grandly, even today."⁷⁷

Davis did not employ humor of a warm and genial nature in his speeches; he was usually in deadly earnest, and there was an urgency and intensity in his purpose and manner that left little room for the light touch. He could be witty, but it was wit with a sting. Like most of the political speakers of his day, the Marylander was at times caustic, and his sarcasm had a sharp and cutting edge. He was unsparing in its use against his opponents. Davis had great power over audiences; he was a master in the use of language and had a keen understanding of audience psychology. Although he could arouse intense bitterness in his political harangues, he apparently had great power to lift his auditors by lofty appeals, a fact that has been recorded by numerous persons who were enthralled by his soaring eloquence.

Henry Winter Davis died on December 30, 1865, at the age

⁷⁶ *New York Times*, January 14, 1866.

⁷⁷ Eric L. McKittrick, *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (Chicago, 1960), p. 65.

of forty-eight. One can only speculate what his attainments might have been if he had been granted a longer life. He was a singularly alert and a singularly violent politician. His short excursion into the public life of his era was unusually active and violent, even for a day characterized by violence. Davis was thoroughly independent in politics. As his cousin, David Davis, once said, "he bent the knee neither to power nor constituents."⁷⁸ To his friends, he was one of the most dynamic and gifted of personalities, a man who brought talents of consummate quality to bear on the problems of his generation. To his enemies, he was an opportunist, a person of a restless, intriguing nature, whose primary capacity was to disrupt and divide, and who contributed little of merit to the solution of the evils then tearing America apart. His antagonism to Lincoln lost him friends and support, and, as would be expected, has jeopardized his status in history.

At the time of his death, the *New York Times* considered that Maryland had been deprived "of her most distinguished citizen."⁷⁹ The *Nation*, while admitting that his "successes in Congress were brilliant," and conceding that he was "well fitted to lead," concluded that Davis was "not always safe to follow."⁸⁰ But in the space of the very few years in which he blazed forth, his capacities were judged to be extraordinary, and his oratory second to none. Although possessing a fine mind and no little courage, it was by the power of the spoken word that Winter Davis was able to leave a deep imprint on the minds and hearts of his generation. To a surprisingly large number of his contemporaries he was the greatest orator of his day, a Southern orator of rare quality who spoke for that section of the South that remained loyal to the Union. Blaine, in his appraisal of the young Marylander, wrote: "Had he been blessed with length of days, the friends who best knew his ability and his ambition believed he would have left the most brilliant name in the Parliamentary annals of America."⁸¹

⁷⁸ King, p. 308.

⁷⁹ December 31, 1865.

⁸⁰ January 11, 1866, p. 33.

⁸¹ Blaine, I, 499.

THE RECRUITMENT OF NEGRO TROOPS IN MARYLAND

By JOHN W. BLASSINGAME

THE long sectional conflict between the North and the South reached its climax when the American Civil War began on April 12, 1861. Without becoming enmeshed in the highly controversial issue of what precipitated the war, one might safely conclude that the immediate cause was the firing on Fort Sumter. Certainly a myriad of events, emotions, differences in "cultures," variances in economic systems, and Negro Slavery (whether a moral wrong or a positive good) all contributed to the chain of crises that culminated in the firing on Fort Sumter. With the first shot, volunteers rushed with unbridled enthusiasm to enlist and to defeat the Confederates in "ninety days."

Later in the war, the Union resorted to large bounties, a conscription law, and repeated calls in order to raise an army. As a result of the decrease in the enlistment of white volunteers, soon after the outbreak of hostilities, the Lincoln administration realized the importance of Negro manpower. Lincoln made public this realization when he asserted in the Emancipation Proclamation that the freeing of the slaves and their participation in the war effort was a "necessary war measure." Although the enlistment of Negroes had begun in 1862, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton accelerated recruitment in March, 1863, when he ordered Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas to recruit Negroes in the Southwest. The War Department centralized control of colored troop recruitment when it set up the Bureau of Colored Troops in May, 1863.¹

¹ Benjamin P. Thomas and Harold M. Hyman, *Stanton, The Life and Times of Lincoln's Secretary of War* (New York, 1962), p. 263; Stanton to Thomas, March 25, 1863, Negroes in the Military Service of the United States, Vol. III, part 1, 1138-41. Adjutant General's Office (AGO), Record Group (RG) 94, National Archives (NA) (hereinafter cited as NIMS); General Orders, No. 143, May 22, 1863, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Series 3, III, 215 (hereinafter cited as the *OR*).

However we touch upon the recruitment of Negroes during the Civil War, we come back for proper perspective to the activities of the "Border States." In fact, by virtue of their geographical location, manpower and economic resources, they were in a position to provide aid of inestimable value to either side. Maryland, bordering on the Union capital and serving as a passageway between the warring sections, stood out as one of the most important of the "border states."

As early as July, 1863, the Bureau of Colored Troops had been directed by Stanton to order Colonel William Birney, son of abolitionist politician James G. Birney, into Maryland to recruit free Negroes. The small, non-slaveholding farmers, who were dependent on free Negro labor, raised a vigorous protest against Birney's recruitment of free colored persons. The farmers believed that if the free Negroes were taken out of the state they would have been forced to hire slave labor at ruinous rates. The farmers were furious at the thought of being dependent on the slave owners and their anger increased in proportion to the number of free Negroes recruited in Maryland. Because of the growing resentment against the small slaveholding element (13,783), such influential Marylanders as Baltimore's Circuit Judge, Hugh L. Bond, Congressman Henry W. Davis, and former State Senator Henry H. Goldsborough, commandant of the drafted militia, began to suggest that Stanton enlist slaves, with or without compensation to the owners.² Their sentiments must have appealed to Stanton for according to the census of 1860 there were 83,942 free Negroes and 87,000 slaves in Maryland.³

Despite the outcries of the small farmers, the slaveholders stubbornly resisted any attempt to enlist slaves. In fact, their resistance grew when, even without War Department orders, some recruiters took the slaves of loyal owners. In retaliation, the slaveholders in Frederick (after consulting with officials in Annapolis) arrested one of Birney's recruiting agents, John P.

² Charles B. Clark, *Politics in Maryland During the Civil War* (Chestertown, 1952), p. 100; Charles B. Clark, *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia* (3 vols., New York, 1950), I, 514; Bond to Stanton, August 15, 1863, NIMS, III, pt. 1, 1484-90; *The Biographical Cyclopedia of Representative Men of Maryland and the District of Columbia* (Baltimore, 1879), pp. 476-477.

³ U. S. Bureau of Census, *Negro Population 1790-1915* (Washington, 1918), p. 57.

Creagher, Marylander, in August, 1863, for illegally enticing slaves away from their masters. Because he was a citizen of Maryland—and punishable according to its laws—the War Department refused to defend Creagher. Senator Reverdy Johnson, Unionist, represented the interests of Maryland slave owners when in Congressional debate he complained of the injustice of the recruitment of slaves without providing compensation for their masters. Former Governor Thomas H. Hicks, a staunch Unionist who had possibly saved the state from secession by refusing to call a special session of the legislature in 1861, expressed the anxiety Marylanders felt at having Negroes recruited, especially during harvesting and planting time.⁴ He wrote to Lincoln on September 4, 1863, expressing his views about Negro troops:

I do and have believed that we ought to use the Col'd people, after the rebels commenced to use them against us. What I desire now is that if you can consistently do so you will stop the array of uniformed and armed Negroes here.⁵

As the congressional elections neared in September of 1863 Hicks expressed even more concern that agitation of the "Negro question" would embarrass the administration.

In the election, the citizens of Maryland, under the benevolent "guidance" of the Union Army, overwhelmingly chose candidates of the Unconditional Union Party (radical) over Democrats and Governor Bradford's Union Party (conservative).⁶ Governor Augustus Williamson Bradford, slaveholder, Unionist, Maryland delegate to the Peace Conference in Washington in February, 1861, opposed the radical programs (enlistment of Negroes and immediate emancipation) of the Unconditional Unionists.⁷ Yet, he wanted to end slavery for he believed it was the cause of the war and as a result of it was dead as an institution. Undaunted by the victories of the

⁴ "Thomas H. Hicks" *DAB* (21 vols.; New York, 1932, 1933), V, 8-9; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1882), I, 211-226; *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 38th Congress, pt. I, 225-227, 633-634; Birney to the Adjutant General, August 20, 1863; C. W. Foster, Chief of the Bureau of Colored Troops, to Birney, September 9, 1863, NIMS, III, pt. 1, 1508-10, 1565.

⁵ NIMS, III, pt. 1, 1555-1557.

⁶ Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, pp. 99-114.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-72; Heinrich E. Buchholz, *Governors of Maryland . . .* (Baltimore, 1908), pp. 178-183.

Unconditional Unionists, Governor Bradford held conversations with Lincoln and Stanton immediately after the elections about discontinuing the recruitment of slaves. They assured him that it had not been decided to recruit slaves and no one had been authorized to do so. Fearing that Democrats would take over control of the state government, Bradford endeavored to halt the "illegal" recruitment of slaves as well as Negro troops from being quartered in Maryland. However, recruiters, without authority, continued to recruit slaves.⁸ As a result of the Governor's entreaties and the unrest caused by quartering Negro troops in the state, on October 1, 1863, Lincoln ordered the suspension of the recruitment of colored troops in Maryland.

The suspension of recruitment impaled Lincoln on the horns of a dilemma: he did not wish to antagonize Marylanders by recruiting Negroes, yet he was in dire need of Negroes to serve in the army. In an effort to solve his perplexing problem, Lincoln ordered Stanton to meet with Governor Bradford toward the end of September. At that meeting, Bradford agreed: that free Negroes should be enlisted; that slaves would be enlisted with the consent of their owners; or without their owners' consent "if it were necessary for the purposes of the Government" provided the owners received just compensation. Stanton on October 1, 1863 (ironically on the same day that Lincoln suspended recruitment), expressed the belief that it was necessary to draft Negroes in Maryland, for it was the center of the war in the East. Surveying the situation, Stanton reported to Lincoln, "There is therefore, in my judgement, a military necessity, in the State of Maryland . . . , for enlisting into the forces all persons capable of bearing arms on the union side without regard to color, and whether they be free or not."⁹

Lincoln quickly approved the recommendations of Stanton, but with two provisos which illustrated the care with which he wanted recruitment conducted in Maryland. Lincoln asserted succinctly: "To recruiting of slaves of loyal owners *without* consent, objection, *unless the necessity is urgent*. To conducting offensively, while recruiting, and to carrying away slaves not suitable for recruits, objection."¹⁰ On October 3, 1863, the

⁸ Bradford to Austin W. Blair, September 11, 1863, NIMS, III, pt. 1, 1568.

⁹ Stanton to Lincoln, October 1, 1863, *ibid.*, 1642-44.

¹⁰ Lincoln to Stanton, *ibid.*, 1644.

War Department in General Orders No. 329 set up regulations for recruiting free Negroes and slaves in Missouri, Tennessee, and Maryland. Under this order the Chief of the Bureau of Colored Troops received authority to establish recruiting offices in Maryland where free Negroes and slaves, with their masters' consent, could be enlisted. If county quotas were not filled in thirty days, slaves would be enlisted without their masters' consent. All loyal masters whose slaves were taken or who consented to their enlistment could receive as much as \$300.00 compensation upon filing a deed of manumission. When slaves enlisted the owner would receive a descriptive list of each of his slaves and certificates of enlistment. Rolls and recruiting lists were to be made public and anyone showing proof of ownership and loyalty within ten days after the posting of the announcement could present his claim to a commission to be established for that purpose.¹¹

On its surface General Orders 329 indicated firm resolve, in the face of adverse public opinion, on the part of Union officials. However, the Lincoln administration had not resolutely determined its course, for this order was "confidential, and not promulgated with the general series of order."¹² As late as October 19, 1863, the War Department continued to refrain from issuing a public announcement that slaves were to be enlisted. The order was not promulgated, in all probability, because of the earnest appeal of Governor Bradford that it be delayed in order to allow time for discussion and the dissipation of prejudice on the subject of Negro enlistment in Maryland.¹³ Stanton deferred enforcing the order until the end of October and then he moved forward vigorously and efficaciously to set up the recruiting system in Maryland. On October 26, 1863, he appointed Hugh L. Bond, Thomas Timmons and L. E. Straughn as members of the Maryland Board to award compensation to loyal owners. The Board granted a claim of \$100 for slaves owing to their masters at the time of enlistment more than three years and less than five years service, \$200 for services of more than five years and less

¹¹ *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, January 5, 1864.

¹² Editor's Note, NIMS, III, pt. 1, 1656.

¹³ Bradford to Stanton, October 3, 1863; Foster to Birney, October 19, 1863, *ibid.*, III, pt. 1, 1652-53, 1683.

than ten, and \$300 for slaves owing more than ten years service or life.¹⁴ Circular No. 1, October 26, 1863, from the Bureau of Colored Troops established nineteen recruiting stations for colored troops in Maryland, thus systematizing colored troop recruitment.¹⁵

When the War Department established a definite system, recruiting agents, under the direction of William Birney until February 12, 1864, and subsequently under Colonel S. M. Bowman, 84th Pennsylvania Volunteers, entered energetically upon their work. Armed Negro troops went out to obtain recruits and to protect those who wished to join. Recruiting officers held public meetings to change public opinion and to attract colored recruits. In addition, the recruiters had a Negro band which they used in parades and performances in efforts to entice Negroes into the army.¹⁶ Some persons, primarily slaveholders, alleged that the recruiting officers forced Negroes to enlist, often threatening to shoot them if they did not. The officers answered these allegations by stating that they always obtained the will of the Negro before he enlisted, and further, that they had frequently refused the request of masters "to take by force their slaves, whom they could not make work, and wished to put into service."¹⁷ If an owner claimed a Negro had been impressed, Birney would ask the recruit, in the presence of the owner, if he wished to return; the slave always refused to return to the plantation. On the other hand, the other commissioner for the recruitment of colored troops, S. M. Bowman, admitted that he had impressed Negroes. Late in April, 1864, Bowman reported, "No recruits can be had unless I send detachments to particular localities and compel them to volunteer as I have done in many instances heretofore."¹⁸

Whether recruiting agents impressed Negroes, or convinced

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, III, pt. 1, 1699, Captain Le Grand Benedict, A. A. G., to Foster, October 10, 1864, Letterbook of U. S. Colored Troops, I, 31-32, AGO, RG94, NA.

¹⁵ Some of the stations were: Baltimore, Chestertown, Oxford, Havre de Grace, Benedict, Lower Marlboro, Hagerstown, Queenstown, Monocacy, Leonardtown, and Annapolis, *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia, 1863* (42 vols., New York, 1863-1903), III, 615.

¹⁶ General Orders, No. 70, February 12, 1864; Foster to Birney, February 26, 1864, NIMS, IV, 2379, 2397.

¹⁷ Birney to the Adjutant General, February 4, 1864; Bradford to Lincoln, May 12, 1864 (enclosures), *ibid.*, IV, 2358, 2534-38; *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia, 1864*, IV, 496.

¹⁸ Bowman to Foster, April 29, 1864, NIMS, IV, 2521.

them to enlist by the use of patriotic appeals, they were thorough in their work. On March 15, 1864, Colonel S. M. Bowman received authorization to send his officers to "jails, slave-pens or other places of confinement . . . to enlist all colored men found in such places." No man could enlist unless he passed a surgeon's examination and provided "none so enlisted are held under criminal process."¹⁹ By this move, the recruiters sought to circumvent the efforts of slaveholders to keep their slaves from enlisting by incarcerating them. The officers rejected a large number of slaves for physical reasons, and when, or if, they returned home their masters abused them. To alleviate this lugubrious situation the War Department instituted the practice of enlisting disabled Negroes, transferring them to a Staff Department and mustering them out, thus making them free and giving them a job.²⁰

Natives of Maryland perceived the recruitment of Negroes with mixed emotions which varied with each section. Many Marylanders agreed with Congressman Benjamin G. Harris, Democrat, that it was a "degradation" of the Nation and the flag to call upon Negroes to defend it.²¹ Many of the Provost Marshals resigned when slaves were enrolled "because they were required to enroll white and 'colored' together . . . one enrolling officer in Montgomery County, on taking his lists home at night had them burned by his indignant wife."²² As a result of the large number of free and prosperous Negroes and the relatively small (4,487) number of slaveholders, according to recruiters, opinion was favorable to the enlistment of Negroes on the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake Bay.²³ There were some rebel sympathizers who called for armed resistance but they were not widely supported. Nevertheless, demagogues were vociferous enough to compel Lincoln to halt recruiting of Negroes in October, 1863.

The equivocation of the Lincoln administration did much

¹⁹ General Orders, No. 11, 8th Army Corps., *ibid.*, IV, 2431.

²⁰ Foster to Bowman, June 17, 1864, *ibid.*, IV, 2632; Bradford to Colonel James B. Fry, Provost Marshal General, May 9, 1864, *O. R.*, Series 3, IV, 279, 280.

²¹ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 38th Congress, pt. I, 597-598.

²² Captain J. C. Holland, Provost Marshal, 5th District, to Fry, June 12, 1865, NIMS, VI, 3660-64.

²³ Clark, *Eastern Shore*, I, 514-515, 552; John Frazier, Jr., Provost Marshal, to Stanton, September 21, 1863; Birney to the Adjutant General, January 26, 1864, NIMS, III, pt. I, 1593-94; IV, 2338.

to sustain resistance to the recruitment of Negroes. Hugh L. Bond and others believed that if Lincoln had proclaimed in a forthright manner that the government needed the slaves, all objections to their use would have vanished quickly. The objections eventually vanished because the poor whites saw the enlistment of the Negro as their salvation from the draft, while a large number of slaveholders saw the enlistment of slaves, with compensation, as a way to get something out of "property" that would have soon been expropriated. However, by October 10, 1864, the slaveholders had received only \$14,391 for their enlisted slaves and many of them were chagrined at the reluctance of the War Department to pay their claims. On February 1, 1865, Congressman John A. Creswell, Unionist, representing the First District, introduced a resolution inquiring into the payment of the claims of slave owners in an effort to prod the War Department into paying them. On the other hand, the abolition element visualized, in the enlistment of Negroes, not profit but the death knell of slavery.²⁴ The slaveholding element on the Western Shore offered the stiffest resistance to the recruitment of slaves. It was on the Western Shore, near Benedict, that two slaveholders murdered Lieutenant Eben White, 7th U. S. C. T, while he was recruiting for his regiment. The implacable "Colonel" John H. Sothoron, former State Senator and member of the Maryland House of Delegates, and his son shot White as he attempted to enlist some of the Sothoron slaves and then escaped into Confederate lines. Lincoln became quite upset over the murder of White because it represented the animosity held toward his policy in Maryland.²⁵

Once launched upon a program of enlisting slaves the state government cooperated with the administration to fill Maryland's quota. On February 6, 1864, the legislature passed a law authorizing the governor to pay anyone enlisting except Negro slaves, before March 1, 1864, \$300 bounty in addition to the United States bounty. One hundred and fifty dollars would be paid at the enlistee's muster in and twenty dollars

²⁴ L. C. Benedict to Foster, October 10, 1864, Letterbook U. S. Colored Troops, I, 31-32; *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 38th Congress, pt. I, 539.

²⁵ Lincoln to Schenck (telegram) October 22, 1863, NIMS, III, pt. 1, 1692; *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, October 22 and 24, 1863.

per month for the first five months thereafter and fifty dollars at the end of his three year service. To any person re-enlisting \$325 would be paid the same as above with seventy-five dollars at the end of his service. To each slaveowner who agreed to enlist his slave, one hundred dollars would be paid to the owner, in addition to the \$300 he would receive from the National Government, and fifty dollars to the slave when he enlisted and fifty when he was mustered out. If a person died in service, the remainder of his bounty would go to his wife or children, "Provided: that if said wife or children be a slave or slaves the same unpaid balance shall revert to the State."²⁶

Doubtless, the lucrative bounties attracted many Negroes to Union arms. However, many of them found that they could not rely on being paid, or they were not paid as quickly as white troops. To aid them the War Department refused to give descriptive or enlistment lists or accept the claims for slaves unless the slave had received the state bounty.²⁷ Some of the slaves refused to join the service when they saw that recruiting officers gave descriptive lists (which they thought represented bills of sale) to their masters. Many slaves donned the accouterments of war because they hoped, by doing so, to throw off the manacles of slavery. The large number of free Negroes in Maryland, to whom the army did not offer such boons as freedom and money, expressed less enthusiasm than slaves for army life. Moreover, many of the wealthy free Negroes, as did their white counterparts, furnished substitutes when they were drafted.²⁸ When a Maryland convention provided for the emancipation of slaves by November 1, 1864, even the slaves lost some of their desire to enlist.²⁹ Inequality of pay between white and colored union troops served to dampen the ardor of both slave and free Negro. However, one Negro probably expressed the view of most Maryland Negroes when he reportedly prayed:

²⁶ *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, February 8, 1864.

²⁷ Foster to S. M. Bowman, June 7, 1864; Foster to S. F. Streeter, June 8, 1864, Letterbook U. S. Colored Troops, II, 734, 739-40.

²⁸ *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, October 30, December 11 and 15, 1863.

²⁹ Foster to Bowman, October 31, 1864, Letters Sent, III, 2832, Colored Troops Division, AGO, RG94, NA.

Great Doctor ob doctors, King ob Kings and God ob battles help us to be well. Help us to be able to fight wid de union sojers de battles for de Union. Help us to fight for de country—fight for our own homes and our own free children and our children's children.³⁰

The "God ob battles" inspired more than 8,718 Maryland Negroes to volunteer to serve in six regiments that participated in some of the most trying engagements of the war—the siege of Petersburg and Richmond and at Appomattox—and generally to acquit themselves with honor.³¹

³⁰ *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, October 23, 1863.

³¹ A. Briscoe Koger, *The Maryland Negro in Our Wars* (Baltimore, 1942), p. 8; Harold R. Manakee, *Maryland in the Civil War* (Baltimore, 1961), pp. 124-27.

CEDAR PARK, ITS PEOPLE AND ITS HISTORY

By J. REANEY KELLY *

NEAR Old Quarker Burying Ground, in a peaceful setting reminiscent of an ancient era, Cedar Park, a rugged seventeenth century dwelling looks out upon West River and Chesapeake Bay. Unlike its neighbors, Tulip Hill and Sudley, the house was built on comparatively level land close to the water to utilize the first rising terrain as shelter from the north and west winds. Giant oak, linden, beech and sycamore trees guard its land approaches, while the garden, on the water side, is partly enclosed by holly and rose hedges. A gently rolling meadow, at one time a deer park, partially surrounds the house. This has not been plowed for the past one hundred years and probably never been laid bare for cultivation.

In this picturesque setting Cedar Park has had many and varied personal and historical associations. The land on which the house was built was in possession of Captain Richard Ewen as early as 1656. As Ewens it was first surveyed for Charles Calvert, Esq. (later the Third Lord Baltimore), then Governor of the Province. Referred to as the "house of Benjamin Lawrence," Cedar Park was the site of a Yearly Meeting of Friends, in 1684, making it the only surviving structure in Anne Arundel County in which religious services were held at such an early date. Other Quaker Meetings were held there during the rest of the seventeenth century. Since 1697 the property has been owned by the Galloway, Sprigg, Mercer and

* The author wishes to thank Dr. Norris L. Radoff, Archivist, and Frank White, Junior Archivist, Hall of Records, for assistance in checking the documentation for this article. Acknowledgment is also made of the contribution of Bryden Bordley Hyde in his painstaking measurement and floor plans of the old house about 1955 before any restoration was begun; Dr. Henry Chandlee Forman for his interest; Mr. and Mrs. E. Churchill Murray and the late Miss Anne Cheston Murray in sharing their fund of knowledge of Cedar Park and the West River area; Francis Engle for his fine pictures; and Dorothy Engle for her patient secretarial help.



Grave yard at Cedar Park



Cedar Park, side view.



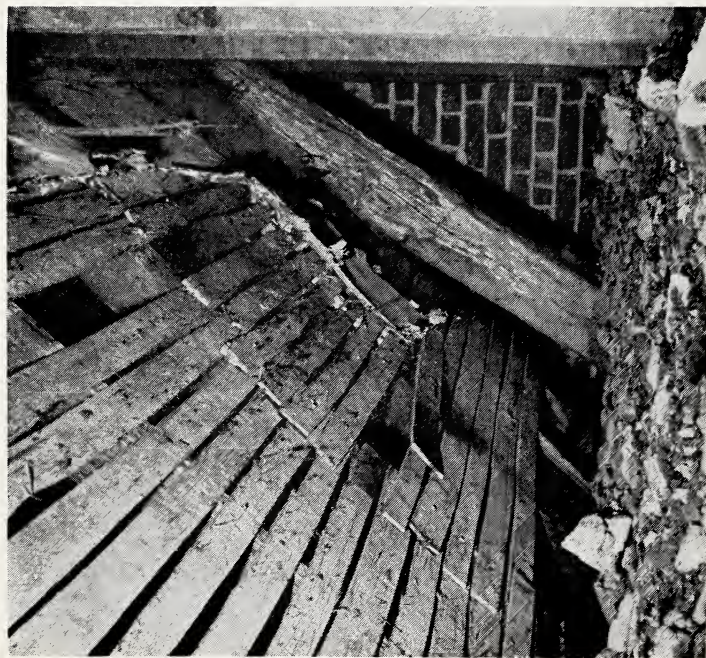
The tree trunk used in the construction of the original house.



The rotted butt of one of the corner posts.



The fireplace and paneling at the end of the great hall during and after restoration.



Roof rafter marks at the end of the old frame house.



The end of the original frame house and shingles on its roof.
Also the extended brick house.

Murray families, all descendants of Richard Galloway I, founder of the family in Maryland, and his son Richard II, to whom much of the Cedar Park house is credited.

Current renovation has revealed much of the foundations, framing, sills, joists, plates and rafters of the venerable old house. It is evident that, while most generations have left their imprint in the form of changes, removals and substitutions, many of the original emplacements remain. The first structure was built of hand hewn native timber and its construction is so primitive that it dates well back into the seventeenth century. On the basis of what can now be seen, and in the opinion of several well known architects and antiquarians, it would appear to have been of the typical early Maryland colonial style, laid out in five approximately ten foot sections. There were two rooms on the first floor with chambers and, possibly, a balcony above under a very steeply pitched roof. The chimneys were within the gable ends. Rived oak siding was used to seal the structure on the sides, ends and roof. Some of what appears to be the original roofing, now partly covered with shingles, can be seen. It is laid clapboard fashion with four to six foot boards feathered at each end where they are overlapped to secure a tight vertical joint. In the basic construction the corner posts were adapted from twelve foot logs some fourteen to eighteen inches in diameter. The butts were left untouched and sunk into the earth, while the remainder, above ground, was roughly squared to receive the other framing and siding. These posts and other vertically spaced log type supports carry six twelve by twelve inch summer beams spaced roughly ten feet apart and upon which rest the larger or main roof rafters. This primitive construction, and particularly the size and crude fashioning of the original timbers, appears to antedate anything this writer has seen in Maryland's oldest houses. It is now known that the original house was later lengthened about eight feet, four at each end, and the chimneys rebuilt outside its gable ends.

There is firm documentation on the size and appearance of the old dwelling during the period between 1690 and 1736. At the death of the owner, Richard Galloway II in 1736, a unique inventory was made of his estate wherein the furniture and other household effects are listed and grouped in certain

named rooms. Seven rooms are designated in addition to a kitchen, which was detached, and a store. The great quantity of furnishings listed makes it likely that the original house was enlarged during that period.

The tract of land on which the old house stands, first called Ewens, was surveyed for Charles Calvert, Esq., Governor of Maryland, in 1665. A Certificate of Survey for 400 acres was issued to him in October of the same year.¹ The Governor promptly assigned his Certificate to Richard Ewen who applied for and was granted a Patent for the property as Ewen upon Ewenton in 1666.² A Captain Richard Ewen had been in possession of this 400 acre tract as early as 1656.³ There is also proof that a person of the same name lived there in 1662 and in 1664, and obtained grants of adjoining properties in those years, namely, Ewens Addition, for 90 acres ⁴ and, Barron Neck, for 250 acres.⁵ In each instance the grant was identified as "next to the plantation Richard Ewen liveth upon." Captain Richard Ewen, who was in possession in 1656, was a Puritan Commissioner appointed in 1654 by Richard Bennett and William Claiborne to govern most of the Province of Maryland. He was Speaker of the Puritan Assemblies and sat in judgment of Captain William Stone and his loyal Marylanders after the Battle of the Severn in 1655.⁶ He is presumed to have died in 1659 or 1660;⁷ thus the Richard Ewen named in the grants of 1662-1664 and 1666 must have been his son. On March 14, 1665, Governor Charles Calvert appointed Richard Ewen, Jr., High Sheriff of Anne Arundel County, showing a relationship that could hardly have been shared with Richard Ewen I. A daughter of Richard Ewen I, and sister of Richard Ewen, Jr., married Richard Talbott of adjoining Poplar Knowle, now Tulip Hill, before 1663.⁸ There is also evidence that the

¹ Certificate of Survey, Liber 9, f 89—Liber 10, f 378, Land Office, Annapolis (hereafter L. O.).

² Patents, Liber 12, f 78, L. O.

³ Anne Arundel County Land Records, Liber W. H. No. 4, Hall of Records (hereafter H. R.), ff 46-47.

⁴ Patents, Liber 5, f 624, L. O.

⁵ Patents, Liber 5, f 479, L. O.

⁶ *Arch. Md.*, III, 312.

⁷ Ida M. Shirk, *The Talbott Family of West River, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1927). Also see *Arch. Md.*, III, 517-518.

⁸ Lawrence Buckley Thomas, *The Thomas Book* (New York, 1896), p. 478.

widow of Richard Ewen I married, secondly, Colonel William Burgess of South River.⁹

While there is no proof that either the first Richard Ewen or his son became Quakers, there is some evidence that they may have been. The Ewen family had first claimed land in the Broadneck Hundred.¹⁰ Yet, by 1656, during the time Elizabeth Harris, Maryland's first Friend, was laboring in Anne Arundel County, Richard Ewen I was seated at West River. A move of this kind followed the pattern set by many early Friends from the Severn area to southern Anne Arundel County or to the Eastern Shore. In 1657 Richard Ewen was excused from taking an "Oath of Commissioners of Justice." Alleging that it was unlawful to swear,¹¹ William Burgess of South River and Thomas Meeres (Mears) were fined. While Burgess later recanted, Meeres remained a Friend. Also, two of the daughters of Richard Ewen I married into families of Friends: Elizabeth into the Talbott's and Richardson's, and Susannah into the Billingsly's.¹²

About the time of George Fox's visits to West River in 1673, Benjamin Lawrence, a Friend, acquired the Ewen Plantations.¹³ He married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard and Elizabeth Ewen Talbott. Lawrence lived at West River for some twelve years, dying there in 1685.¹⁴ His last Testimony was read at the West River Quaker Meeting, April 17, 1685.¹⁵ A son, Benjamin, inherited his West River property.¹⁶

On August 17 and 18, 1685, transfers of the original Ewen properties at West River were recorded from Benjamin Lawrence, Jr., to Thomas Curtis, and John Smith;¹⁷ and then by Thomas Curtis, "Woolen Draper," and John Smith of Marlborough, England, to John Taylor for 280 pounds.¹⁸ At that time the plantation was described as bordering Talbotts, Ewens,

⁹ J. D. Warfield, *The Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1905), p. 53.

¹⁰ Rent Rolls, Broadneck Hundred, Anne Arundel County, L. O.

¹¹ Warfield, *op. cit.*, p. 28. Also see *Arch. Md.*, III, 351.

¹² Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 477. Also, Wills 1, f 199 (H. of R.).

¹³ Anne Arundel County Land Records, Liber W. T. No. 1, f 14 (H. of R.). (Hereafter A. A. Co. L. R.).

¹⁴ Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 387.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 387.

¹⁶ Wills 4, ff 142-143 (H. of R.).

¹⁷ A. A. Co. L. R., Liber W. T. No. 1, f 123 (H. of R.).

¹⁸ A. A. Co. L. R., Liber I. H. No. 2, f 224 (H. of R.).

Miles Creeks and West River. They are now called Tenthouse, Inspecting House, and Muddy Creeks, respectively.

In 1686 Elizabeth Talbott Lawrence, widow of Benjamin Lawrence, married Richard Galloway II, a great uncle of Samuel Galloway III who later built Tulip Hill. As recorded in the records of The West River Meeting,¹⁹ the Certificate of Marriage contains the names of thirty-two witnesses. Most of those who signed were of the Western Shore. However, William Edmonson and Joseph Richardson were from the Eastern Shore. All were Friends who helped plant Quakerism in Maryland. They were Samuel Galloway I, (Bro. of Richard II), Edward Talbott, Wm. Coale, Jr., Philip Cole (Coale), Samuel Coale, Richard Harrison I, William Richardson, Sr., Wm. Richardson, Jr., M. (Mordecai) Moore, Joseph Chew, Wm. Edmonson, Thomas Hooker II, John Belt, Joseph Holland, Elizabeth Lawrence, Elizabeth Talbott, Elizabeth Coale, Elizabeth Carter, Elizabeth Belt, Elizabeth Richardson, Sarah Thomas, Elizabeth Lockwood, Sarah Hooker, Milleson Batty (Battee), Mary Knighton, Elizabeth Knighton, John Flree (?), Jos. Richardson, Soloman Sparrow, Mary Giles, Jane Holland, and one Elizabeth.

Richard and Elizabeth Lawrence Galloway lived at Ewen upon Ewenton. There were two children born of this union. A daughter, Elizabeth, who married John Rigbie,²⁰ and a son, Richard, Jr., born in 1691,²¹ who married Sophia Richardson on September 19, 1715.²² Richard Galloway II was in possession of Ewen upon Ewenton in 1694 when Herring Creek (St. James) Parish was laid out.²³ He represented the owner, John Taylor, by an agreement, dated February 6, 1690.²⁴ He purchased the property from Taylor in 1697, paying him 317 pounds. It had cost Taylor only 280 pounds.²⁵ Possibly some changes in the house had been made. At this period Richard Galloway II was listed as a merchant.

¹⁹ Marriage Certificates of the West River, Herring Creek and Indian Spring Meeting No. 116. Friends Library, Stony Run Meeting House, 5116 North Charles St., Baltimore (hereafter Stony Run).

²⁰ Wills 11, ff 28-29 (H. of R.).

²¹ Records of Births and Deaths, Stony Run.

²² Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

²³ Theodore C. Gambrall, *Church Life in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1885), pp. 62-63.

²⁴ Katherine Scarborough, *Homes of the Cavaliers* (New York, 1930), p. 219.

²⁵ A. A. Co. L. R., Liber W. T. No. 1, f 4 (H. of R.).

It is not clear when or by whom the original installation, now the frame inter-structure of the present Cedar Park house, was built. There is a strong family tradition that it was "Lord Baltimore's Hunting Lodge." This must have been after 1675 when Charles Calvert became the Third Baron. The fact that Charles Calvert, then Governor of the Province, obtained the first Certificate of Survey for Ewen upon Ewenton in 1665, might tend to support the theory that it was *his* hunting lodge. However, the first Richard Ewen lived on the land as early as 1656 and later, his son was in possession until 1673. Either one of them could have built the original emplacements. Charles Calvert, Esq., did not come to Maryland until 1661. Likewise, there was a house there in 1684 which could have been constructed by Benjamin Lawrence.²⁶ The original frame house with its steeply pitched roof has been absorbed in the present brick structure. It has been lengthened, as before stated, and enclosed in substantial brick walls. On the land side small cell rooms were added opposite the hall and parlor and the roof swept out to cover them. Under the extended roof can be seen the ends of the original frame house, its overhanging eave and the old "fish scale" shingles over the rived oak roofing. Much of the present main house is credited to Richard Galloway II as of 1697 when he purchased the property, although he was in possession some seven years before that. After his death in 1736 an inventory of his furniture and personal effects also named the rooms of the house and what each contained. The rooms listed were a hall and parlor; a hall chamber and a parlor chamber; a porch, a porch chamber and a peake room.²⁷ This would indicate that in 1736 the house was of either a typical cross or T design. It is believed that this is the first time the rooms of such a dwelling have been contemporarily named. The following is the inventory:

AN INVENTORY of the goods and Chattels of Richard Galloway of late Ann Ar [Anne Arundel] County Dece'd App [appraised] in Current Money by us the Subscribers this 25th Day of March Anno Dom: 1736—

²⁶ In 1683 a Yearly Meeting of Friends was held "at the house of Benjamin Lawrence." Minutes of the West River Quaker Meeting, Homewood Meeting House Library, 3107 North Charles St., Baltimore.

²⁷ Inventories, Liber 30, ff 384-391 (H. of R.).

Impr. To his Wearing Apparell	£52.	-	-
Cash in Gold and Silver	12.	9.	5.
Paper Currency	108.	8.	6.
Copper Money	3.	10.	5.
Plate 15 lbs. 3 oz. at 12/ fashion included.....	109.	16.	-
A parcel of new Goods prime	}	371.	10. 4.
Cost £185. 15/ 2 pence at 100 pc adva. }			

Negroes

1 Man Charles ab[ou]t. 30 yrs. old	60.	-	-
1 Do Tom 28 Do	60.	-	-
1 Do Robin 25 Do	60.	-	-
1 Do Ben 43 Do	54.	-	-
1 Do Duce 35 Do	60.	-	-
1 Do Nedd 25 Do a Legacy...	60.	-	-
1 Do Bocassy 43 Do	40.	-	-
1 Do Bacon, an old man.....	12.	-	-
1 Do Harry 20 yrs. old, a Legacy...	50.	-	-
1 Woman named Joan	36.	-	-
1 Do Jenny 26 Do & a Child 4 mo.	62.	-	-
1 Do Maria abt. 16.....	54.	-	-
1 Do Marcy abt. 15 yrs. old.....	50.	-	-
1 Do Hagar blind & a Child 4 mo.	6.	-	-
1 Boy Sam 14 yrs. old, a Legacy.....	40	-	-
1 Do Barcas 9 yrs. well grown	40.	-	-
1 Girl Nanny 11 Do	40.	-	-
1 Do Patience 8 Do	26.	-	-
1 Do Dinah 7 Do	22.	-	-
1 Boy Phill 7 yrs. old	26.	-	-
1 Do Monday 5 Do	20.	-	-
1 Do Daniel 3 Do	16.	-	-
3 p[ai]r of holland sheets.....	2.	12.	6.
2 pr. of Do older	5.	8.	-
3 pr. of new flaxen sheets	3.	-	-
2 pr. of Irish Do	2.	12.	-
1 pr. Do 26/, Eight pr. of old sheets 7.4.0.	8.	10.	-
5 pr. Do older	2.	-	-
1 Damask table Cloth & 10 napk	2.	10.	-
2 Diaper Do & 13 napkins	3.	10.	-
1 large Coarse Do 30/. 2 smaller cloths 35/.	3.	5.	-
2 Do smaller 20/. 18 napk. 36/. old	2.	16.	-
2 Huckaback table Cloths	-	18.	-
2 Do newer 20/. 2 Do smaller 12/.	1.	12.	-

12 Do napkins	1.	4.	-
5 small table Cloths	-	10.	-
4 huckaback towels 8/. 3 Do older 3/.	-	11.	-
6 Irish Do 18/. 7 Cupbd. Cloths 30/.	2.	8.	-
3 new Holland pillow Cases	-	12.	-
6 pr. Do older 15/. 4 pr. Coarse sheets 40/.	2.	15.	-
3 Cotton Counterpains	2.	-	-
3 Callico Do and 2 Linnen Do	4.	3.	-
7 pr. of Checked Pillow Cases	1.	1.	-
11 ozna [bourg] Towells 11/. 7 Do table Cloths 18/.	1.	9.	-
4 small Do and 4 ozna napk.	-	9.	-
4 knife Cloths 16 pence. 8 Crocus Towels 6/. ..	-	7.	4.
2 Dresser Cloths & a parcel old linn[en]. ..	-	4.	-

In The Hall

12 Russia Leather Chairs & an Elbow Do ...	5.	15.	-
1 Easy [chair] Cushioned Do	5.	15.	-
1 Clock £11. One large looking glass £4....	15.	-	-
2 Class Sconces 16/. One Escrulse [Escritoire] £4	4.	16.	-
1 large Ovol Table & 1 small Do	2.	4.	-
A large Book Case £3. One tea table 6/.	3.	6.	-
1 pair of Pillows	1.	5.	-

In the Parlor

1 Bed & furniture	17.	-	-
1 Do with Do £14. A Chest of Draw. £3	17.	-	-
1 large Looking Glass	2.	10.	-
Small table & an old trunk	-	15.	-

In the Hall Chamber

1 bed & furniture	17.	-	-
1 Do with Do	12.	-	-
1 Chest of Drawers	3.	10.	-
1 Dressing table and glass	3.	15.	-
9 Cain Chairs & an elbow Do	8.	4.	-
2 pr. Window Curtains with Iron rodss	-	5.	-
1 Couch with a Bedd	1.	10.	-

In the Parlor Chamb.

1 feather bed & furnit.	11.	15.	-
1 trundle Do with Do	7.	-	-

1 Flock Do with Do	3.	-	-
A parcel of Bed Cloaths	1.	13.	-
A pcel of old Pillows	1.	10.	-
1 Chest of Drawers & Cover	1.	12.	-
A small bedsted	-	7.	-
3 old Cain Chairs	1.	4.	-

Porch Chamber

6 Cain Chairs £4. 10. A Dressing Case 40/.	6.	10.	-
A Chest of Drawers inlaid	7.	-	-
1 Do 45/. 1 large looking Glass 50/.	4.	15.	-
1 small looking glass with Frame	1.	-	-
1 Feather bed and furnit.	18.	-	-
1 pair of Window Curtains	-	9.	-
6 Russia Leather Chairs at 6/.	1.	16.	-
6 Do 48/. 6 old low Do 36/.	4.	4.	-
6 Do 48/. 2 old Do 3/.	2.	11.	-

In the Peake Roome

1 Bedd and furniture	11.	-	-
1 Table and looking glass	2.	10.	-
A Spice Box & glass Case	2.	-	-

In the Porch

1 old trunk & a Chest	-	19.	-
A speaking Trumpet 6/.)	{	2.	6.
2 Gunns 40/.			
1 Oval table 15/. 1 Do 10/.		1.	5.
1 old Cupboard 12/. 33 sickles 16/. 6 pence.		1.	8. 6.

In the Kitchen

5 Doz. & 10 Plates at 12/ per doz.	3.	10.	-
113 lbs. of pewter at 16 pence per lb.	7.	10.	8.
11 $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. of Do older at 9 pence	-	8.	10.
2 old Limbecks	1.	4.	-
3 pr. of Brass Candlesticks	1.	-	-
2 Iron Do 18 pence. 1 Brass screen 30 pence	-	4.	-
11 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of old Brass at 12 pence per lb.	-	11.	6.
1 Brass Plate Rail	2.	5.	-
3 Iron spitts Wt. 24 lb. at 8 pence per lb.	-	16.	-
3 Dripping panns 19 lbs. at 8 pence	-	12.	8.
1 large Bell mettal mortar	4.	-	-
1 large Do . A skillet	1.	5.	-
1 Do smaller 10/. 1 Grid Iron 4/. 6 pence	-	14.	6.

14½ lbs. of Pot Hooks	—	12.	1.
2 Chaffing Dishes 10/. A Barber's Pott 5/. ..	—	15.	—
An old Copper Sauce pann	—	6.	—
1 small pann & 7 scewers	—	2.	—
1 Iron kettle Wt. 24 lbs. at 4 pence per lb. ..	—	8.	—
1 Tin fish kettle & 2 Dish Covers	—	9.	—
1 Pewter Still and frame	—	14.	—
3 old Coppers Wt. 185 lb. at 17 pence per lb.	13.	2.	1.
A parcel of Cooper's & Carp. tools	2.	3.	—
1 Tinn Cullender 1/. 1 pr. old Sheep Shears 2/.	—	3.	—
9 Iron potts Wt. 367 lbs. at 4 pence per lb. ..	6.	2.	4.
2 Spitt Racks Wt. 61 lb. at 8 pence per lb. ..	2.	—	8.
4 pot Racks Wt. 39 lbs. at Do	6.	12.	—
2 frying pans	—	8.	—
3 pr. fire tongs & 2 shovels	—	10.	—
An old Copper Tea kettle & frame	—	6.	—
7 groce [gross] of Corks 35/. 2 Corner Cupboards 40/.	3.	15.	—
2 Cloth brushes & 2 hatt Do	2.	6.	—
146 Bas[ket]. of Indian Corn @ 9/.	44.	14.	—

In the Store

1 large Oval Table	2.	—	—
1 Scasch 8/. 8 good Chests £5. 12/.	6.	—	—
3 pr. negr. Shoes 18/. 2 pr. Cotton Socks 8/. ..	1.	6.	—
29½ lbs. of Curried Leather	2.	12.	—
A parcel of Boxes & Tubbs	2.	—	—
1 Copper Coffee pott 7/. 6 pence. 1 Do Chocol- [ate]. 7/. 6 pence	—	15.	—
1 pr. of Garden Shears	—	3.	—
27 tinn milk pans at 14 pence	1.	11.	6.
A parcel of glasses 23/. 2 tin kettles 6/.	1.	9.	—
1 horse Bell and hand Do	—	5.	—
2 China Bowls 6/. A set of China 40/.	2.	6.	—
A parcel of Earthen Ware	1.	19.	10.
28 patty pans 3/. A lanthorn 18 pence	—	4.	6.
A Copper Saucepan & a pr. old Scales	—	5.	—
A pr. of old Candle Snuffers & Stand	—	4.	—
1 Trunk 16/. 3 Spades 8/.	1.	4.	—
1 Iron Crow 12/. 2 Cases & 12 bott. 16/.	1.	8.	—
2 Stone jugs & 2 old pickle Cases	—	7.	—
3 Chests 24/. Four Sifters 8/.	1.	12.	—
3 pr. of old Sheep Shears	—	3.	—

1 new Curb bridle 2/. 1 old saddle 25/.	1.	7.	—
1 old Do and Bridle	—	8.	—
17½ Bushels of Beans	2.	3.	9.
980 gall. of Cyder at 6 pence per Gall.	24.	10.	—
1 gross of quart bottles	1.	10.	—
6 Pottle Bottles	—	4.	4.
24 Bushels of Wheat at 4/.	4.	16.	—
250 lbs. of hoggs Lard £5.15/.	}	8.	5. —
100 lbs. tallow 50/.			
3 Box Irons and heaters	1.	4.	—
1 Warming pann 20/. A Whip Saw 40/.	3.	—	—
30 Bushels of Oats 50/. 12 Do Barley 48/.	4.	18.	—
51 lbs. of Sheet Lead 6/. 7 pence. 3 old Chests 15/.	1.	1.	7.
99 lbs. of uncurried Leather	3.	6.	—
A parcel of old Window glass	—	7.	—
98 lbs. of Cordage 20/. 56 Bush. Salt 7£	8.	—	—
5 gall. Tarr 30 pence. 5 tubbs 25/.	1.	7.	6.
A part of a Barrel of Pitch	—	13.	4.
A Boat 17 feet Keele with Sails C	31.	—	—
15 Cyder Casks £7.10/. Twelve Do £4. 4/. ..	11.	14.	—
2 Anchors 8/. 1 Spyeglass 10/.	—	18.	—

Stock

11 Barrows 2 yrs. old at 11/.	6.	1.	—
4 Sows and piggs at 10/.	2.	—	—
7 Sows 56/. 2 Boars 16/.	3.	12.	—
18 Hoggs abt. a year old	5.	8.	—
13 Shoters at 3/.	1.	19.	—
15 Steers between 5 & 7 yrs. old	5.	8.	—
3 Bulls & 5 Spaid heifers	16.	—	—
17 two year old at 25/.	24.	10.	—
4 three year olds at 30/.	6.	—	—
15 yearlings at 12/.	9.	—	—
1 old Cow 30/. 1 Do older 20/.	2.	10.	—
23 Cows £57. 10/. 4 Do Calves £12	69.	10.	—
21 Steers & heifers Between 3 & 4 years old	47.	5.	—
One fattening Steer	4.	10.	—
42 Sheep at 7/.	14.	14.	—
One fine pacing Sorrel Horse	20	—	—
1 Small black Do	9.	—	—
1 young Spaid Mare	10.	—	—
1 large Do and Colt	10.	—	—

1 young Grey Horse	8.	-	-
2 old Plow Horses	3.	-	-
1 young Horse unbroke	4.	-	-
A parcel of horse harness	3.	18.	-
An old Harrow	-	7.	-
A parcel of Negroe's bedding	9.	3.	-
9 old narrow Hoes & 7 broad Do	1.	5.	-
8 narrow Axes 24/. 4 Maul Rings 8/.	1.	12.	-
5 Iron Wedges Wt. 29 lbs. at 8 pence per lb.	-	19.	-
4 Scyths with rings -----.	1.	4.	-
1 old Seed Plow	-	10.	-
500 lbs. of powdered beef at 2 pence per lb. ..	4.	3.	4.
3900 lbs. of Pork at 3 pence per lb.	48.	15.	-
140 lbs. of green hyde at 2 pence per lb.	1.	3.	4.
20 Bush. of English Salt	2.	-	-
8 old Chests 32/. 1 hackle 30/.	3.	2.	-
1 old Spinning Wheel & 2 lin. Do	1.	18.	-
A large old bible & other books	3.	-	-
[End of Cedar Park Inventory].			

Elizabeth Talbott Lawrence Galloway died in 1705. Richard Galloway II later married, July 30, 1719, Mrs. Sarah Smith Sparrow of nearby Sparrows Rest. He died the 28th day of the 8th month, 1735/36, and was buried in Old Quaker Burying Ground.²⁸ His widow, Sarah, subsequently married for the third time, November 14, 1738, Henry Hill (a Mariner) and died in February 1755 at the age of eighty-three.²⁹

By the terms of the will of Richard Galloway II, who died in 1736, title to his plantation at West River passed to his only son, Richard, Jr. Earlier, in 1715, Richard Galloway, Jr., had married Sophia Richardson. Their only daughter, Elizabeth, born January 16, 1721, inherited the entire estate of her father at his death in 1741.³⁰ However, her inheritance was subject to the life estate of her mother, Sophia. At the death of Richard Galloway, Jr., management of the plantation at West River was taken over by his widow and she continued her interest in Quaker affairs and the nearby West River Quaker Meeting. It was not until 1781, the year of the death of Sophia, that her daughter Elizabeth became the sole owner of the properties.

²⁸ Pedigrees and Notes (New York, 1883), Friends Library, Stony Run.

²⁹ Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

³⁰ Wills 22, f 410 (H. of R.).

On December 14, 1737, Elizabeth Galloway of West River married Thomas Sprigg of Long Meadow, Washington County.³¹

According to a story of true love and true religion: "Gay Thomas Sprigg came acourting: the lady was Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Galloway of West River, Maryland. The Galloways were strict Quakers. Thomas pleaded his cause, but Elizabeth said 'No I cannot marry out of Meeting.' As he turned sorrowfully away he heard a whisper of hope. 'If thou thinkest thee could change thy religion Thomas.' A year went by—one day Elizabeth sitting on the low step of her front door saw a gentleman with a straight coat and broad hat (typical Quaker dress) riding toward her. As he alighted she stepped forward saying 'I knew thee would come back, Thomas.'"³²

After the marriage of Thomas Sprigg and Elizabeth Galloway the couple lived at West River and Thomas helped in the management of the estate. They also were active in Quaker affairs. Elizabeth was a birthright Friend, while Thomas became a member of the Society just before his marriage. An only child was born to this marriage, a son, Richard, at West River in 1739. Richard Sprigg married Margaret Caile of Dorchester County in 1765.

There is another interesting story having to do with the marriage of Richard, only son of Thomas and Elizabeth Galloway Sprigg, to Margaret Caile. Richard was born and raised at West River Farm. He lived there with his father, mother, and grandmother, Sophia Richardson Galloway. It was said of the ladies: "They lived in the calm repose of Quaker life, having no cares outside their home, and associating mostly with neighbors of their own denomination. They had lived so long in this quiet way that they regarded their old mansion as consecrated to the customs and uses of 'Friends Society'; great therefore was their mortification when they learned from Richard that he was about to marry out of their circle of 'Friends.' However, they were wise and considerate old ladies [Elizabeth could not have been over forty-nine] and perceiving

³¹ Richard S. Steuart *et al*, "Dr. George Steuart of Annapolis and 'Doden' . . . (unpub. ms Md. Hist. Soc.), pp. 25-26.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 41.

it could not be prevented, they promptly determined to make the best of it. 'Richard, my son,' said his mother, 'it would not be agreeable to us to be called on to change any of our old ways, and it would be equally disagreeable to change your young wife, heretofore accustomed to the leasure of the gay world, to be compelled to live as we live. Therefore, it would be better, my son, for all parties, that thee and thy wife should have a separate home. The farm of Strawberry Hill is unoccupied and, as thee knows, is a beautiful place. Build a good house upon it and make thyself as comfortable and as happy as money can make it. It is near all the gay and fashionable people of Annapolis, and their society is better suited to thee and her than ours. But, my son, thee must not give us up, we love thee as much as ever, thy presence is always a comfort to us. Continue thy good management of the estate and come when you can to see us.' ³³

Richard Sprigg built his home at Strawberry Hill, which was one of the fine houses in the Annapolis area. With his bride he moved there in 1766.³⁴ It was said that "it is one of the most beautiful places near Chesapeake Bay, commanding an extensive inland view and out over Kent Island and to the Eastern Shore, and far up and down the Bay and the Severn River."

In his diary for September 29, 1773, George Washington recorded: "Dined at Mr. Sprigg's and went to a play in the evening." Describing the house in 1796, Rosalie Eugenia Stier, daughter of Henri Stier, a wealthy Belgian emigre' who was leasing it, wrote to her brother, Charles: "Our new house is so enormously big four rooms below, three large and two small ones on the second floor besides the staircases, and the finest garden in Annapolis in which there is a spring, a cold bath house well fitted up and a running stream, what more could I wish for?" ³⁵

The house which stood near the site of the present Naval Hospital and Cemetery, within the grounds of the U. S. Naval Academy, has long since been destroyed. Richard Sprigg pre-

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

³⁵ Ruby R. Duval, "The Naval Academy Cemetery on 'Strawberry Hill,'" *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, LXXI, No. 8, Whole No. 510, 1945, p. 937.

sumably continued management of his mother's and grandmother's estate at West River. Five daughters were born to the union of Richard Sprigg and Margaret Caile, at Strawberry Hill. They were Sophia, born in 1766, who married John Francis Mercer in 1785; Rebecca, born 1767, who became the wife of Dr. James Steuart in 1786; Elizabeth, born 1770, was the wife of Hugh Thompson in 1795; and, Henrietta and Margaret, born in 1775 and 1789, respectively, remained single.³⁶

After the birth of Margaret in 1789, following the death of his mother the same year, Richard Sprigg and his family removed from Strawberry Hill to West River Farm.³⁷ His father had died at West River in 1782 and his grandmother, Sophia Galloway, passed away in 1781. Thus, for the first time in many years, there were young people at the old estate.

The *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Saturday, July 23, 1796, published the following: "On Wednesday, the 13th inst., departed this life, Mrs. Margaret Sprigg, the wife of Richard Sprigg, Esq., at his seat at West River. A lady early distinguished for rare endowments of mind and person—long a victim of a series of ill health, the unsubdued strength of an accomplished understanding was still actively employed in duties useful to her family and pleasing to a numerous society."

Again, on November 25, 1798, The *Maryland Gazette* of Annapolis, carried the following notice: "On Saturday, the 24th inst., died at his seat on West River, Richard Sprigg, Esq., in his 49th year."

As has been noted before, at the death of Sophia, widow of Richard Galloway, Jr., in 1781, their daughter, Elizabeth Galloway Sprigg, became sole owner of West River Farm. Until that time the plantation had probably been managed by her husband, Thomas Sprigg, and their son, Richard, of Strawberry Hill. The next year, 1782, Thomas Sprigg died and thereafter, until about 1790, Elizabeth lived there alone in the shadow and atmosphere of the West River Meeting of Friends. She was to see the affairs of that historic Meeting transferred to Baltimore about 1785.

The will of Elizabeth Galloway Sprigg, dated April 6, 1789, displays the utmost confidence of this strong but retiring lady in

³⁶ Steuart, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

her only son, Richard, and her dedication to the perpetuation of ownership of her ancestral house and lands in the family.

"As my only beloved son Richard Sprigg has given me his word to give to my beloved granddaughter Sophia Mercer, his first born, all the lands on West River which will go to him at my death and as I have no doubt it being done I will say no more about my lands."³⁸ Her will also included bequests to Sophia Mercer and four of her sisters.

Upon his return to West River about 1790, Richard Sprigg's main concern was the health of his wife. His vast holdings of land, both at West River and in other parts of Maryland, also required constant attention. At his death in 1798 he carried out to the letter his promise to his mother. The following is from his will dated July 31, 1798: "I give to my eldest daughter Sophia Mercer all tracts and parcels of land on which I now reside bordering West and Road rivers in Anne Arundel County and contiguous—lately resurveyed and reduced into one tract called West River Farm containing 2000 acres of land."³⁹ His will also includes other bequests of both personal and real property. He directed that six of his slaves be manumitted for faithful service. Also to be given freedom was "the yellow woman Bet and her youngest child Charles and I request that my daughter Sophia shall pay to the said woman Bet in quarterly payments at the rate of \$20 annually or an equivalent at the election of Bet during the natural life of said Bet for her particular care and attention to her late Mistress during her long and severe illness." This is but one example of the appreciation and compassion on the part of slave owners of Maryland and, particularly, those of Quaker background. Sophia Sprigg Mercer was designated as her father's executor.

It has been impossible to find any information relating to changes made in the old dwelling at West River Farm during ownership in the Sprigg family. Need for enlargement did not exist during that period and the quiet and retiring nature of Sophia Galloway and her daughter, Elizabeth Sprigg, would not reflect any change in the old way of life. When Richard Sprigg and his family returned to his West River home, Mrs. Sprigg

³⁸ A. A. Co. Wills, Liber J. G. No. 1, f 105 (H. of R.).

³⁹ A. A. Co. Wills, Liber J. G. No. 2, f 62 (H. of R.).

was evidently in very ill health, so it is not likely that any major changes were made between 1790 and her death in 1796.

The addition of some 225 acres of land on the east side of the original Ewen grant, Ewen upon Ewenton, during the period of Sprigg ownership of West River Farm is explained in the will of Thomas Sprigg of 1782.⁴⁰ This land, a part of Watkins Inheritance, was granted to John Watkins and resurveyed for him October 6, 1677.⁴¹ Thomas Sprigg acquired the land prior to 1782. In his will he bequeathed to his daughter, Elizabeth Sprigg, the land bought of Stephen Watkins adjoining West River Farm. It then passed from Elizabeth Sprigg to her son Richard and, by his will, to Sophia Mercer. It is now a part of Ivy Neck.

On February 3, 1785, Sophia Sprigg married John Francis Mercer, who later became Maryland's tenth Governor.⁴² The *Maryland Gazette* of February 7 of that year carried the announcement: "The 3rd inst. was married the Hon. John Francis Mercer, a delegate to Congress from Virginia, to Miss Sprigg of this City." The ceremony was held at Strawberry Hill, the home of the bride's parents, Richard and Margaret (Caile) Sprigg. A resurvey of Sophia's ancestral property at West River was made, and after the death of her father in 1698, it was repatented to her as West River Farm.⁴³

John Francis Mercer was from a distinguished Virginia family. He was born May 17, 1759, at Marlborough, the Mercer seat in Stafford County, near Mt. Vernon. Graduating from William and Mary College in 1775, he received a commission as a Lieutenant in the Continental Army February 26, 1776; was wounded at the Battle of Brandywine September 11, 1777; and was promoted to the rank of Captain June 27, 1778. He studied law under Thomas Jefferson and was a member of the Continental Congress. As one of the delegates from Maryland to the Convention for the drafting of the Constitution of the United States, he took a leading part in the proceedings of that body. Colonel John Francis Mercer was elected Governor of the State of Maryland and served from 1801 to 1803. He then retired from public life.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ A. A. Co. Wills, Liber T. G., f 60 (H. of R.).

⁴¹ Patents, Liber C. B. No. 2, f 218, L. O.

⁴² Mercer Collection, Records from Mercer Bible (H. of R.).

⁴³ Patents, Liber I. C. No. P, f 512, L. O.

⁴⁴ Mercer Collection, Records from Mercer Bible.

After Governor Mercer's retirement he and his family came to live at West River Farm partly through force of circumstances. After their marriage in 1785, the Mercers lived at Strawberry Hill, the home of Mrs. Mercer's father, Richard Sprigg. All of their five children were born there. However, only John, born June 24, 1788, and Margaret, born in 1791, lived to full maturity. Removal to Marlborough on the Potomac River, near Mt. Vernon, had been considered; but, soon after his gubernatorial term ended the Mercer mansion was totally destroyed by fire. It was then decided not to rebuild and Marlborough was sold. This led to the move to Mrs. Mercer's estate at West River. It is probable that Governor Mercer's share of the sale of Marlborough was used to renovate the old house. It seems likely, too, that the second partition to provide a center hall and the present fine stairway were installed at this time. With the coming of the Mercer family soon after 1800, West River Farm entered a new era.

Sophia Sprigg Mercer died and was buried at West River Farm in 1812.⁴⁵ She apparently left no will, but Colonel Mercer soon deeded his interest in the property to the two surviving children, John and Margaret. It was during the period between the death of Sophia in 1812 and of Colonel Mercer in 1821 that the name, Cedar Park, became associated with the old estate. After the sale of approximately 225 acres of West River Farm to James Cheston II, of adjoining Watkin's Neck, later Ivy Neck, November 7, 1817,⁴⁶ John and Margaret Mercer divided the remainder of the farm land, excepting some 74 acres surrounding the old house which was called the "Park." March 10, 1818, John Mercer deeded his share of the "Park" to his sister Margaret. This area which Colonel Mercer had enclosed for a deer park abounded in cedars (as it does today) so the name, Cedar Park, logically developed.⁴⁷

President Monroe and some of his Cabinet visited at Cedar Park May 30 and 31, 1818. Young Margaret acted as hostess for her father. She is quoted as saying, "The President and Cabinet spent two days with us last week. Tell your mamma that the old gentleman won my heart entirely by some traits

⁴⁵ Chancery Record, No. 153, L. O.

⁴⁶ A. A. Co. L. R., Liber W.S.G.-5, ff 310-311 (H. of R.).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, f 453 (H. of R.).

of feeling that I did not expect from him; and propitiated me entirely for Mrs. M. by a story he told for her. Mr. Calhoun [John C.] who was with him is one of the greatest men I ever saw.”⁴⁸

In addition to the sale of a part of West River Farm to James Cheston II, John Mercer obtained a considerable loan upon his part of the property from the Farmers Bank of Annapolis in 1820.⁴⁹ This was to cause much trouble and embarrassment later on. The mortgage did not cover the “Park” section of Cedar Park as it was then known. Exhaustive research has not revealed the disposition of this mortgage money. In view of later developments, it must be presumed that at least some was used to enlarge the old homestead.

Colonel John Francis Mercer died at Philadelphia, on August 30, 1821, in the 64th year of his age. His remains were placed temporarily in a vault at St. Peter's Church in that city. They were later removed to Cedar Park and buried in the graveyard at the foot of the garden.⁵⁰ His son, John, born June 24, 1788, at Strawberry Hill, was educated at St. John's College, Annapolis. On June 20, 1818, he married Mary Scott Swann, daughter of Thomas Swann of Alexandria, Virginia. As a Major in the United States Army, he accompanied Major General Winfield Scott as his aide-de-camp, to inspect military fortifications abroad, after the War of 1812. He lived most of his life at Cedar Park, but died at Belmont, Loudon County, Virginia, May 22, 1848. There were nine children born to John Mercer and Mary Swann. Two of these, George Douglas, born September 18, 1831, and Wilson, born July 17, 1834, served as officers in the Confederate Army during the Civil War. All of the children benefited under the will of their aunt, Margaret Mercer, at her death in 1846, when Cedar Park was bequeathed to them.⁵¹

During its long life up to the time of the Civil War, two women left an indelible imprint upon the old estate, Cedar Park. Sophia Richardson Galloway, who lived there from her

⁴⁸ Caspar Morris, M.D., *Memoir of Miss Margaret Mercer* (Philadelphia, 1848), p. 33. Also see *Maryland Gazette*, Annapolis, June 4, 1818, p. 2.

⁴⁹ *Chancery Record*, No. 153, L. O.

⁵⁰ Mercer Collection. Also A. A. Co. Wills, Liber T. H. H. No. 1, ff 381-382 (H. of R.).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

marriage in 1715 to her death in 1781, was a strong and dedicated Friend. She brought with her an efficiency and purpose in the management of the estate. Margaret Mercer, on the other hand, whose home it was from the early 1800's, was delicate and often unwell. She was a leader in Christian education and a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Both were descended from founding Quaker families. Sophia Galloway's grandfather, William Richardson I, was one of Maryland's early Friends, a Quaker Minister, and friend of George Fox. Margaret Mercer was the great-great-granddaughter of Sophia Galloway and was descended from Richard Galloway I, a Friend and founder of that family in Maryland. Together they seem to have imbued the ancient dwelling and surrounding "Park" with a quiet gentleness and charm.

Margaret Mercer founded a school or academy for young ladies at Cedar Park about 1825. Although, "she announced to her friends her determination to convert the ancestral home into an Academy, expecting to receive but a limited number of pupils, during the whole time that she continued her residence at West River she had as many pupils as she could accommodate, even after the erection of an extensive addition to the original mansion."⁵²

⁵² Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 101. The following is a list of scholars and teachers compiled as of 1831:

Baltimore, Maryland: Elizabeth Sherlock, Elizabeth Donaldson, Elizabeth Howard, Elizabeth Gilmore, Elizabeth Todhunter, Elizabeth Birkhead, Frances Donnell, Louisa Howard, Maria D'Arcy, Margaret D'Arcy, Catherine Todhunter, Sarah Carroll, Lucretia Vaubiber (Van Biber), Henrietta Stockett, Emily Dorsey, Agnes Owen, Maria Williams, Jane Metcalf, Margaret Harrison, Ann Bowley, Catherine Stockton, Eliza Finley, Augusta Barnes, Ann Stockton, A. M. Bromwell.

Annapolis, Maryland: Matilda Macubin, Mary Ridgely, Nancy Ridgely, Anne Claude, Adeline Kent, Josephine Harwood, Kitty Murray.

Prince George's County, Maryland: Mary Contee, Kitty Bowie, Ann Mullikin, Ellen Mullikin.

Pennsylvania: Ann Coleman, Margaret Coleman, Jane Hall.

Kentucky: Caroline Bullitt.

Eastern Shore of Maryland: Henrietta Handy, Anne Keer (Kerr), Matilda Groome, Mary Tilghman, Margaret Tilghman, Ellen Lloyd, Mary Williams, Ann Carroll, Julia Carroll, Sally Martin, Mary McLaine, Julia McLaine, Milcah Skinner.

Virginia: Bella Carter, Parke Carter, Charlotte Carter, Grace Garnett, Anne Page, Mary Harrison, Mercer Harrison, Lucy Harrison, Cotney Bowdin, Sally Cocke, Mary Boyd, Lucy Oliver, Lavinia Randolph, Sally Minge, Marcia Minge, Frances Anderson, Lucy Gunfney (Gwathmey), Mary Pages.

Washington, D. C.: Frances Hagner, Susan Fowle, Rebecca Fowle, Roseina Jones, Mary Jones, Frances Lee, Sophia Taylor, Mary Hagner.

There can be no doubt that changes were made in the dwelling house about this time. Also the existence of a large frame building, close to the northeast end of the old house, is proved by a sketch made later in the nineteenth century.⁵³ A frame addition attached to the southwest end of the old house was also built.

Some time during the early nineteenth century another addition was made to the main section of the house. This was partly of brick and partly of frame, and projected from the center part of the homestead like the stem of a T, towards the garden on the water side. It provided a large parlor and a similar sized bedroom above. This replaced the earlier porch and porch chamber mentioned in the 1736 inventory. The width and height of the original porch and porch chamber can be readily visualized from a cut in the original roof. This opening begins about fifteen inches below the roof-tree and expands to approximately ten feet at the level of the eave. The length of the projection, however, has not as yet been determined. The large detached frame building that probably served as a dormitory for the school girls has long since disappeared.

Miss Mercer and her assistants operated the school at Cedar Park for eight or nine years. The growth of her brother's family, who resided with her (there were nine children) induced her to close the school at West River and move elsewhere; so, in 1834, she removed to Franklin, in the vicinity of Baltimore, where she hoped to obtain a still larger patronage. Her stay there was short and she soon transferred her establishment to Belmont, near Leesburg, Loudon County, Virginia.⁵⁴

During her residence at Cedar Park, Margaret Mercer endeared herself to her neighbors, to her pupils who came from many states, and to the slaves inherited from her father. She was a devout Christian, although, according to Bishop John Johns of nearby Sudley, not always a complete conformist to the

West River, Anne Arundel County, Maryland: Miss Fenwick, The Misses Hall, Martha Iglehart.

Georgia: Sarah Campbell, Sarah Wheeler.

Louisiana: Roseina Benoist.

Elk Ridge, Maryland: Ellen Cook, Elizabeth Thomas, Sally Dorsey.

Teachers: Miss Margaret Mercer, Miss Sarah Handy, Miss Maffit, Miss Sanderson, Miss Godman (Codman?), Mr. Krebs, Mr. Dydier, Mr. Bristow, Mrs. O'Connor, Mrs. Sterling, Miss Christie.

⁵³ Now the property of the owners of Cedar Park.

⁵⁴ Morris, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-141.

Protestant Episcopal Church. She was an active and often vocal member of the Society for the Colonization of Liberia, finally manumitting her slaves.⁵⁵ At a time when the slavery question was moving towards a climax, Margaret Mercer brought into her household, as a servant, an ex-slave whose redemption she had purchased. Noting his superior intelligence and his assiduous attention in nursing the sick, she arranged that he have access to the office of Dr. Lindsley, one of the professors in the Medical College of Washington, D. C., to carry on his studies. Working as a waiter at night to support himself, William Taylor became a Doctor of Medicine. Later he removed to Liberia and practiced among his people there.⁵⁶

Margaret Mercer, in expressing love and affection for her ancestral home, Cedar Park, often referred to the family burying ground there. Between the time of her father's death in Philadelphia and the interment of the remains at West River, she wrote: "I should rejoice to think that I was never to go beyond the sight of that little enclosure where will shortly repose silent, low in beds of dust, those who loved me first, last, midst, and, I devoutly trust, without end."⁵⁷ Earlier she had written: "I went yesterday into the Graveyard and the violets which I had planted with my own hands, close to the head of my mother's grave, had spread all around and the ground was enamelled with them."⁵⁸ The old graveyard, now enclosed, is covered each spring with a blanket of white narcissus, and the winter snows are often colored crimson from the mass of holly berries shaken from the overhanging trees.

Always considerate of the welfare of others, Margaret Mercer reluctantly closed "Miss Mercer's School" at West River. Soon after the school had become established at Belmont, she wrote to her friend, J. H. B. Latrobe, of Baltimore, asking if he would contribute "a simple but tasteful plan" for a small chapel. She described, "The sight is a slight elevation in a skirt of wood near the road."⁵⁹ Evidently, he acceded to her request, for a chapel stands today some several hundred yards from the main house. After her death at Belmont in 1846, a monument was erected in front of the Chapel which is inscribed as follows:

⁵⁵ A. A. Co. L. R., Liber W.S.G. No. 14, f 196 (H. of R.).

⁵⁶ Morris, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-111.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

Sacred
to the Memory
of
Margaret Mercer
Born July 1st, 1791
Died Sept. 17th, 1846
Her remains repose beneath
the Chancel of this
Chapel built by her own
self denying labors.
This Monument
erected by her pupils
as a testimony of their
admiration of her devoted
Christian character and
of their gratitude for her
invaluable instructions.

Her remains were later brought to Cedar Park and re-interred in her beloved family burying ground.⁶⁰ The monument at Belmont gives the date of her birth as 1791. A stone at Cedar Park has the date 1795. Dr. Caspar Morris in his book *Memoir of Miss Margaret Mercer*, published in 1848, gives the earlier birth date.

Under the terms of Miss Mercer's will, West River Farm, or Cedar Park, was bequeathed to her nine nephews and nieces, children of her brother, John. There were several partitions of the property within the family. A part called Parkhurst became the property of Richard S. Mercer.⁶¹ The dwelling of the same name was built by him, probably soon after 1846. It is now the home of Judge and Mrs. William H. Kirkpatrick. In 1867 Ella W. Mercer deeded to Richard Hardesty, and others, 120 acres called the Mill Fields, now known as Atholl. Thomas Swann Mercer evidently received the Orchard Fields, since one of his descendents sold that property to Dr. James H. Murray in 1882.⁶² That tract of (some) 136½ acres is now the home of Mr. and Mrs. E. Churchill Murray, known as Lands End.

Following the end of the Civil War, Cedar Park moved into

⁶⁰ Mercer Collection.

⁶¹ A. A. Co. L. R., Liber I.H.N. No. 6, f 166 (H. of R.).

⁶² A. A. Co. L. R., Liber S.H. No. 19, f 127 (H. of R.).

a new era. May 7, 1869, Mary M. and Wilson C. Mercer deeded that property, through certain trustees, to their cousin, Fanny H. Cheston Murray, wife of Dr. James H. Murray.⁶³ Before the war, Dr. and Mrs. Murray had moved from Arden, which they had built near Harwood in Anne Arundel County in 1843, to Warrenton, Virginia. Subsequently, Dr. Murray served in the Confederate Army. Wilson C. Mercer, who sold the Cedar Park property in 1869, had also served in the Confederate Army. He was a Cavalry Officer and had been captured and imprisoned until the end of the War.⁶⁴

Since 1869 the house and surrounding "Park" land has been in possession of Dr. and Mrs. Murray and their children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Through Mrs. Murray, all are descendants of Richard Galloway I, one of Maryland's first Friends. From 1673 to the present, all resident owners have been either Friends or descendants of founders of the West River Quaker Meeting. Cedar Park has always held an impressive place in the life of West River. Yet, over the last several generations, even its unique quietness and charm has seemed to soften in the care of these gentle people.

For some years the venerable old dwelling has been held in protective preservation by the owners, Mr. and Mrs. E. Churchill Murray. Title has now passed to their daughter, Marjorie Murray Bridgman, and her husband Eveleth, who, with their five children, now reside there. As Mr. Bridgman is a descendant of the Sprigg family, the young generation re-establishes, at Cedar Park, the earlier relationship between that family and the Galloways of West River. Renovation has been completed. Most of the changes made over many generations of ownership have not been disturbed. However, for the first time, the house has complete modern conveniences, and its aged bones can relax in the luxury of central heat. Thus, the words of the poet Philip Thomas, of Lothian, Anne Arundel County, dedicated to Cedar Park in 1857, have become alive, again:

The Old Mansion now reflects its rays and
long and bright and lovely may it blaze.

⁶³ A. A. Co. L. R., Liber No. 3, f 400 (H. of R.). Mrs. Murray was christened Francina Henrietta Cheston.

⁶⁴ Mercer Collection.

THE BALTIMORE MOBS AND JOHN HOWARD PAYNE

By GRACE OVERMYER

IT was the city of Baltimore which had virtually launched the playwright, actor, and composer of "Home Sweet Home," John Howard Payne, on three years of theatrical touring, and it was to Baltimore that Payne turned when his fortunes, personal and financial, were again at low ebb.¹ He had made his stage debut at the age of 17 in his native city, New York, in February, 1809. In October of that year he first visited Baltimore, acted for two weeks at the old Holliday Street Theater, and was very enthusiastically received. In Boston between the New York and Baltimore engagements, he had made his first appearance as Hamlet—the earliest American to essay the role—with Elizabeth Poe, mother of the infant, Edgar Allan, as Ophelia.

Now, early in 1812, Payne, low in funds and saddened by the death of his father, came back to Baltimore. Here he had many loyal friends, including three who were among the town's leading citizens.² They were William Gwynn and Jonathan Meredith, lawyers, and Alexander Contee Hanson, editor. Gwynn was a man many years older than Payne; Hanson and Meredith were only in their twenties. All were ardent Federalists, at a time of intense partisan feeling and rumors of impending war.

These friends of young Payne were men of high personal and mental calibre. Gwynn³ was declared to have been "one of the

¹ This article was originally written as a separate chapter of *America's First Hamlet*, a biography of John Howard Payne, by Grace Overmyer (New York, 1957), but was crowded out of the published work by considerations of book length.

² A fourth influential Baltimore friend, mentioned in W. T. Hanson's book on Payne (see Note 7), was Edward J. Coale, bookseller, who published Payne's juvenile poems in 1813.

³ John E. Semmes, in *John H. B. Latrobe and His Times* (Baltimore, 1917, pp. 207, 371), William Gwynn is described as "a theatre-goer and intimate with all the celebrities; one of the kindest and most benevolent of men . . . knew the words of more songs than any man I ever knew, and could, or thought he could, sing them to all the tunes that could be made up."

most reliable counselors of his day"; and incidentally, it was in his office that young David Poe ⁴ (father of Edgar Allan Poe) had attempted to study law. Gwynn was a man of wide interests, not only a lawyer but also an editor, his paper being the *Federal Gazette*. He was, as well, an early advocate of vaccination as an aid to public health, and was founder of the first gas company in the United States.⁵

Of Meredith, who would become an authority on commercial law, it was stated that "to the manner of a man of the world he joined the knowledge which placed him high in the ranks of his profession. . . . When he had completed the investigation of a case, it could fairly be assumed that there was nothing more to be found in the books concerning it."⁶

Hanson,⁷ later a United States Senator, was a man whose ancestors had been distinguished in governmental affairs—his grandfather, president of the Continental Congress and his father a secretary to George Washington. Yet for some years before 1812 young Hanson had found himself in disagreement with the government of his country; and so deep was his feeling that he had established a newspaper, the *Federal Republican*, to give expression to his views.

Although Payne's first stage appearances in Baltimore, in 1809, had created excitement and enthusiasm unprecedented in that city,"⁸ when he returned in 1812, it was to a city restive under the threat of war, and to a theatrical prospect decidedly unpromising. He made half a dozen appearances, but they were, in the words of Wood, the manager, to "sadly diminished

⁴ David Poe deserted the law to go on the stage. Payne's reminiscences of Baltimore (*Ladies' Companion* [1837], VII, p. 185), says that David Poe had a brother, Sam Poe, a sea captain lost overboard on a voyage to the West Indies, who was "a better actor than his brother . . . A very eccentric and entertaining person . . . the best mimic our country has produced. A theatre within himself—author, actor, scene-painter, could even be the music between the acts . . . all mother's wit."

⁵ In the group of Baltimoreans who founded the first American gas company were Gwynn and Rembrandt Peale, the artist.

⁶ Jonathan Meredith (1785-1872). The statement concerning his legal supremacy is in Semmes *op. cit.*, p. 206.

⁷ Alexander Contee Hanson (1789-1819), was the great-grandfather of Willis Tracy Hanson, Jr., Schenectady banker, and author of *The Early Life of John Howard Payne* (Cambridge, 1913).

⁸ Payne, in later years, would pay this tribute to Baltimore: "What a society I recollect on my first visit to Baltimore! What an endearing welcome! I hope to have it in my power some day to give a picture of what was surely the Augustan Age of Baltimore . . . when all its hearts seemed to me so warm and all its minds so brilliant." Overmyer, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

houses.”⁹ The town was simply not in a theatre-going mood.

Circumstance, however, was to associate Payne prominently with Baltimore in 1812, but that circumstance was not theatrical. It was his participation, with several townsmen and a few outsiders, in personal defense of the life and property of Editor Hanson, after destruction of his newspaper plant by the “Baltimore mobs.” This resistance is referred to as an activity in support of freedom of the press, which in effect it was, though on Payne’s part it was primarily an act of loyalty to a friend in a situation of great danger. Apparently the only reason for Payne’s involvement was that he happened to be on hand at the time.

The attack on the *Federal Republican* office was a minor episode in what is generally regarded as a minor war, the War of 1812. But no battle, or no war, is minor to those who lose their lives in it; and in this local outburst of violence, one distinguished patriot, General James Lingan, was killed, as was also a member of the mob; while an eminent Revolutionary officer, General Henry Lee, known as “Lighthorse Harry,” interesting to posterity as the father of Robert E. Lee (then only five years old), received such severe wounds that he died as a result of them, some years later.¹⁰

The citizens of Baltimore, particularly those of means, had been generally impoverished (or so they regarded themselves), by the government’s embargo on commerce with England. Quite naturally they were not enthusiastic supporters of that policy or of the war which followed its adoption. Hanson was particularly outspoken, and in his paper had repeatedly attacked President Madison and administration policies generally. The incident that set off the violence was Hanson’s severely worded editorial which appeared on June 20, 1812, two days after the declaration of war.

⁹ William Wood’s *Personal Recollections of the Stage* (Philadelphia, 1855, p. 171), gives this laconic appraisal, entirely in box-office terms, of Payne’s Baltimore appearances at this time: “In 1812 the theatre followed a down-hill course throughout the Baltimore season, though strengthened by the engagement of Fennell and Payne. Payne performed 6 nights to sadly diminished houses: \$355, \$315, \$244, \$255 and benefit, \$656. This benefit, by advice of some friends, he threw up as insufficient, taking in return another, which reached only \$567.”

¹⁰ Gen. Henry Lee, a former Congressman and governor of Virginia, was also noted as a literary man, and it was he who wrote the resolutions on the death of Washington, originating the famous phrase, “First in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen.”

This was one of those crises in which the upper classes oppose the policies and acts of the established order, while citizens of lesser rank rise to the defense of the government, although in so doing they paradoxically take the law into their hands. The act of razing the *Federal Republican* office and destroying the presses was only the beginning, however, since two days after this occurred, the fiery Hanson, not to be intimidated, resumed publication of his paper from Georgetown, D. C., for circulation in Baltimore. A week later he announced that he proposed to reissue the paper in his home city and "shame those who supposed the mob to be invincible."¹¹ He accordingly set up a publication office in a private house in Baltimore's Charles Street.

While Hanson was still in Georgetown, Payne had made a trip to that town to call on his friend and benefactor. Finding the editor in a mood to return to Baltimore, Payne "suggested that that would be imprudent without preconcerting a plan of defense." For such a plan he volunteered his services, though obliged to admit that in "endeavoring to fortify my mind against the terrors of attack, I could not anticipate, and possibly could not govern, my sensations when the stones should fly, the doors crash and the glass shiver into atoms."¹²

For all this admission of natural fears, Payne was allowed to accompany Mrs. Hanson and children "to a place of safety about three miles outside of Baltimore,"¹³ and later he was deputed to ride through the countryside and muster other defenders. As a result, a number of Federalist sympathizers, including General Lingan and General Lee (the latter only a visitor to the community), went to the Charles Street house, where, in the interval, "a quantity of arms and ammunition had been secreted." Hanson said that the mob "would not attack when it knew we were prepared, and if it did, one volley would disperse them."¹⁴ As a matter of fact, the knowledge that the

¹¹ From Payne's testimony in *Report of the Committee on Grievances and Courts of Justice of the House of Delegates of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1813), pp. 14-18.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ On his return from abroad, in 1832, Payne wrote (c. July 25, 1832) the widowed Mrs. Hanson, assuring her of "grateful recollections of your kindness to me in early days and of the earnest friendship of one who is no longer here to receive my acknowledgments" (From the collection of the late Thatcher T. P. Luquer, Payne's grandnephew Columbia University Library).

¹⁴ Payne's testimony, *op. cit.*

defense was armed was merely sufficient to stay the mob until it too was supplied with arms.

As Payne had been serviceable in rounding up defenders, he was sent out on horseback by General Lee, on the night of June 27th, to view the situation in the outskirts, and this fact may have saved the younger man's life. For on returning to Charles Street to report quiet in the rural areas, he found the house surrounded by the mob. He left his horse and went on foot to the home of William Gwynn, who has supplied this account:

I was first informed by Mr. John Howard Payne that Alexander Contee Hanson had come back to Baltimore with several friends who were in the house in Charles Street, and that Hanson intended to issue the *Federal Republican* from that house. I went to the house, saw Mr. Hanson and was introduced to General Lingan, went home and to bed and was waked at 10 p. m. by Mr. Payne, who said that the house in Charles Street was attacked, windows broken and that those within had fired over the heads of the mob to alarm them. At his request I dressed and went with him to Charles Street, which was very noisy. . . . A cannon had been placed in an alley opposite the house, aimed at the upper story. Doors had been burst open and a leader of the mob shot dead. At daylight the mob increased and Thomas Wilson (editor of the *Sun*, a paper taking the government's side in the embargo controversy), with a pistol in each hand and a sword and scabbard under his arm, was very active and vociferous, urging the mob to fire the cannon and declaring they must have blood for blood.¹⁵

Gwynn, the lawyer, knew the necessity of orderly procedure, and he and Payne went in search of the proper official ("a justice") to sign an order to bring out the militia. As most officials had been intimidated, that was no easy quest.

An escort was finally recruited—about fifty armed guards on horse and foot—and the mob persuaded to take away the cannon "on the assurance that persons in the house would be taken into custody." The military "formed a hollow square, which Mr. Hanson and his friends from inside the house, entered, and, thus attended by hundreds crying for vengeance, to which the apathy of the well-disposed gave increased activity . . . reached the gaol."

¹⁵ Gwynn's statement, report, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-34.

After the mayor had promised that neither Mr. Hanson nor his friends would be bailed, orders were given to disperse the military. Gwynn's account concludes the story: "That was a signal for destruction. The mob collected with savage impetuosity and attacked the sanctuary of the prisoners. The outer door was opened by treachery, the inner door yielded to rage and force. Seven or eight gentlemen were thrown into a heap, under the impression that they were dead. Among them, the good, venerable and gallant General Lingan" actually was dead, and General Lee critically injured.¹⁶

The mob then attacked the post office "in order to destroy copies of the *Federal Republican* in the mails. This caused the ordering out of the whole militia, though the soldiers were in sympathy with the mob and only by the mayor's assurance that you are not protecting the proprietor of the paper, you are marshalled here to protect the property of the United States," were they persuaded to restore order.

Although there is nothing in Payne's correspondence to indicate that participation in this frightening adventure greatly impressed him, it may have been a contributing cause of a serious illness, which he mentioned briefly in a letter to his sister Lucy, written from Georgetown two months later: "I shall soon recover from an attack of bilious fever, at the height of which my life was despaired of."¹⁷ This letter also referred to an historic consequence of the Baltimore disorders—the funeral service for General Lingan, at Georgetown, two months after his death. Lingan not only was a hero of various military engagements, he had also been one of the famous prison ship martyrs of the Revolution. Those were the American soldiers, captured by the enemy, who were held under unspeakable conditions on board the notorious prison ships, anchored in Wallabout Bay, off Brooklyn.¹⁸ That Lingan survived that horror, although with permanently impaired health, may be because, as an officer of rank, he apparently figured in a prisoner ex-

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Payne to his sister Aug. 28, 1812, Luquer collection.

¹⁸ It is estimated that several thousand Americans died on the prison ships. In 1808 the bones of many of them were found and buried in a tomb erected in Fort Greene Park, Brooklyn, and the address of dedication was made by Joseph D. Fay, a New York lawyer, who, it so happened, was a friend and admirer of Payne. When the permanent monument was completed a hundred years later, the address was made by President Taft.

change.¹⁹ The subsequent death of this patriot, in advanced years, at the hands of an irresponsible mob, was therefore an event that stirred the public imagination. "A funeral oration for General Lingan and splendid procession will take place here on Tuesday next," Payne wrote to Lucy. "General Washington's grandson, Mr. Custis, will deliver it."

The throngs which gathered for this ceremony were so great that they could not be accommodated in a church, and the service was held "on an open-air platform, overhung with lofty oaks. While Lingan's mangled body slept in some obscure grave, the train moved to the music of a funeral dirge. The hearse was drawn by horses clad in mourning; the general's horse, in mourning, led by a groom. Minute guns were fired from the first ship ever built in Georgetown and named *The General Lingan*."²⁰

Carriages had been reserved for Hanson and his friends, and Payne probably rode in one of them. His letter to his sister, apparently written before the ceremonies, contains some further details:

We dined afterwards under the marquée which Genl. Washington carried with him from the beginning to the end of the war. Hanson and myself spent the night with Custis recently, and Hanson slept in the bed, and on the side of it, where Washington breathed his last. . . .

Hanson and myself went in a gig to call on Genl. Lee. He is dreadfully mangled by stabs and slashes with knives, all over his face. . . . The Grand Jury have found presentments for manslaughter against the defenders of Mr. Hanson's house, but my name is not included among those presented.

During the early months of the following winter, Payne apparently divided his time between Baltimore and New York, and in the Maryland city his good friends were concerting a plan and collecting a fund of \$2000 to send him abroad.²¹ At

¹⁹ Francis Bernard Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army* has this entry p. 352: "Lingan, James M., captain of Rawling's Continental Regiment, to rank, 1778; taken prisoner, Nov. '79; exchanged, 1780; retired, 1781; died, 1812." In other records he is referred to as General.

²⁰ From "An Account of the Funeral Solemnities in honor of the lamented Gen. James M. Lingan," prefacing the *Oration of Mr. Custis at Arlington* (Washington City, 1812).

²¹ The possibility of Payne's going abroad had been rumored even before the means were provided. *The Dramatic Censor* of Philadelphia, in an issue of

a time when, according to a contemporary historian, "an annual salary of \$3000 gave its possessor the reputation of being a wealthy man;" ²² \$2000 was a considerable sum. In addition to Hanson, Meredith and Gwynn, a contributor to the fund was the Baltimore merchant, J. N. D'Arcy, who would later join Payne in London. It is known that the versatile youth had been offered employment on Hanson's re-established paper, but this young Payne declined "because of the load of embarrassment I am compelled to remove, previous to my permanent settling in any way." ²³ Apparently he still felt that the stage, with all its faults, held the best possibility of eventual disentanglement, and in the hope of achieving this, assisted by his Baltimore friends, he turned his face toward England.

On the 17th of January, 1813, the brig *Catherine Ray*, "flying a white flag as an emblem of innocence among the belligerents," ²⁴ heaved uneasily in the icy waters of New York Harbor. Amid "the bustle, rattling of ropes and crowds of passengers, hallooing from one end of the ship to the other," Payne found his stateroom. His brother Thatcher, ²⁵ and that faithful friend, Joseph D. Fay, ²⁶ came aboard with him, while "a crowd of friends on the wharf were alternately seen and lost to view by the changes of the ship's position."

The brig was tugged slowly out of harbor, and "many hands could be seen waving, when faces could no longer be discerned." Young Roscius ²⁷ had left his native land. Not for twenty years would he be cheered by those friendly faces and those heartening hands; and some he would never see again.

Jan. 1810, says: "From some English papers in our possession we find that the fame of the young gentleman has already reached Europe; in such sort, too, as in all probability will insure him a very favorable reception, should he be disposed to try the enterprise . . . however, we hope the justice of his own country will prevent the necessity of merit such as his seeking encouragement in strange and distant lands."

²² Semmes, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

²³ Having become disillusioned with theatrical life, Payne had tried to establish a reading room in New York, thereby contracting many debts, as yet not fully paid.

²⁴ Payne's log of the voyage, Luquer collection.

²⁵ Payne's younger brother, Thatcher Taylor Payne, who became a New York lawyer.

²⁶ See Note 18.

²⁷ The name Young Roscius, for the Roman actor, Gallus Quintus Roscius, 126-62 B. C., was much applied to Payne by the press of the time.

SIDELIGHTS

ELECTRO VITRIFRICO IN ANNAPOLIS: MR. FRANKLIN VISITS THE TUESDAY CLUB

By ROBERT R. HARE

When Benjamin Franklin visited Annapolis early in 1754, he attended a regular meeting of the Tuesday Club.¹ He made a modest contribution to the evening's ribaldry—the mock trial of a member accused of selling the club's Presidential Chair was in progress—and, according to the club's MS *History*,² the following conversation took place:

Secr: As this trial, Gentlemen, seems not in a way to be soon determined, I would move That as this gentleman is to leave the club soon, he may, from a long standing, be transmogrified into an honorary member, as others before him have been.

Q. Com: Sir, I humbly second that motion.

Jon: Grog: Why Mr. Secretary, you would not have us dock the gentleman, I suppose the member, however he may stand now at this juncture, is as long as ever.

Dep. Pres: ha, ha, ha, the longstanding members methinks are waggish.

Mr. Electro Vitrifrico (a stranger invited to the Club)³ Longstanding members, I think gentlemen, with submission, are not so properly waggish, because if they stand they cannot wag.⁴

There is substantial documentary evidence—three “fair” transcriptions of the club's raw notes—to support the authenticity of Electro Vitrifrico's quip, or at least to suggest that Mr. Franklin may have said something of the sort at the 217th meeting of the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club of Annapolis. The meeting was held on Tuesday, January 22, 1754, at the home of Dr.

¹ Although there are frequent references to the Tuesday Club in works dealing with Colonial Annapolis, only one article has been published: Sarah Elizabeth Freeman, “The Tuesday Club Medal,” *The Numismatist*, LVIII (December 1945). Franklin's visit is mentioned, in passing, in Walter B. Norris, *Annapolis, Its Colonial and Naval Story* (New York, 1925), p. 63.

² History of the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club, MS, bound in three volumes, in the Johns Hopkins University Library.

³ “Electro Vitrifrico” (electric glass-rubber) is, of course, Benjamin Franklin.

⁴ History, III, 295.

Alexander Hamilton (1712-1756), Scotch-born physician who was the club's founder, prime mover, and indefatigable secretary.⁵

Mr. Franklin came to Annapolis on business connected with his recent appointment as Postmaster General of the Colonies. In the January 17, 1754, issue of the *Maryland Gazette* there appeared the following item:

Annapolis

Last week arrived in Town, to regulate and settle the affairs of the Post Offices, Benjamin Franklin, Esq; of Philadelphia, and William Hunter, Esq; of Williamsburg, his Majesty's Post Masters General of the Continent of North America.

That Mr. Franklin also had other more personal business to transact in Maryland is suggested by a paid advertisement that appeared in the *Maryland Gazette* on February 21, 1754, and in five subsequent issues:

Baltimore County, Feb. 18, 1754

Whereas Benjamin Franklin, Esq; of Philadelphia, has constituted me his Attorney in Fact, for the Western Shore of this Province, for transacting his affairs: This is therefore to require all persons indebted to him, on this side of the Bay, to make speedy payment of their respective debts, else they must expect trouble, from

Their humble servant,

William Young

When Mr. Franklin visited the Tuesday Club, however, he was no doubt welcomed more for his philosophical accomplishments than for his standing in the world of commerce and public administration. In 1749 Ebenezer Kinnersley had performed Franklin's electrical experiments at public lectures in Annapolis and he, too,

⁵ Dr. Hamilton kept virtually all of the club's record during the entire period of the club's activity (1745-1756) and they exist, as it were, in triplicate. There are two "fair copy" minute books which differ very little, one among the Dulany Papers at the Maryland Historical Society, and one in the Johns Hopkins University Library. Both are more than 600 pages long, and are co-extensive, covering the first full decade (1745-1755) of the club's life. An additional minute book, covering the last few months of the club's life (May 27, 1755-February 10, 1756) is in the Maryland Collection of the Library of Congress. The History, cited in n. 4, above, is also the work of Dr. Hamilton; he seems to have begun it in 1754, relying upon the minute books, memory, fancy, and sheer verbal elaboration. It differs notably from the minute books by using "clubical" pseudonyms for both members and guests, by not maintaining a strict chronological order, and by including extensive secretarial commentary on the proceedings.

had been a guest of the Tuesday Club.⁶ The jocose members were prepared, in 1754, to welcome Benjamin Franklin as Mr. Electro Vitrifrico himself.

Franklin already had very close business and personal relations with Jonas Green (1712-1767), the very active Tuesday Club "Jon: Grog" and the publisher of the *Maryland Gazette*; and Green was, besides, postmaster of Annapolis, an office which had a direct bearing on Franklin's visit. Green had worked for Franklin in Philadelphia for three years before coming to Annapolis in 1738, and continued to have business dealings with him for many years. The Annapolis printer was not, as is sometimes suggested, a charter member or even a very early member of the Tuesday Club—he joined at the 75th meeting, in 1748—but he was almost immediately made Poet Laureate and Master of Ceremonies, and was more informally styled P.P.P.P.P: poet, printer, punster, purveyor, and punchmaker.

The "Q. Com."—short for Quirpum Comic—in the *History* is Beale Bordley, and the Deputy President (usually Crinkum Crankum) is William Lux, both Annapolis worthies and "long standing members." At the meeting which Franklin attended, Lux presided in the absence of the gouty president, Charles Cole, an aging merchant whose contributions to the club were more material than intellectual. According to the records, Cole provided splendid refreshments when the club met at his home and, Dr. Hamilton wryly observes in the *History*, accustomed the members to a degenerating luxury. Cole missed many meetings in spite of Dr. Hamilton's prescriptions, and he died in 1757, a year after his physician.

Dr. Hamilton—"Loquacious Scribble" and sometimes "Secretarius Scriblerius" in the *History*—seems to have had a light but profitable practice in medicine, and the instincts of a man of letters. Yet he seems to have intended little more than a single pamphlet for publication.⁷ His *Itinerarium*, a journal account of a voyage

⁶ On May 16 and June 13, 1749. A full account of Kinnersley's demonstrations and lectures in Annapolis, as well as an account of his association with Franklin in the experiments, is contained in J. A. Leo Lemay, "The Ingenious Mr. Kinnersley: A Biography of the Reverend Ebenezer Kinnersley, A. M. (1711-1778)," an unpublished University of Maryland Master's thesis, 1962.

⁷ *A Defense of Doctor Thomson's Discourse on the Preparation of the Body For Small-pox*, . . . Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1751, 27 pages. Dr. Hamilton's other publications may include *De Morbis Ossium* (Diseases of the Bone), his 1737 doctoral dissertation, and a number of anonymous or pseudonymous essays in the *Maryland Gazette*. Among those which suggest his style are the "What News?" essay in the issue of January 7, 1746, and one signed Theophilus Polypharmacus, M.D., in the issue of February 4 of the same year.

he made in 1744 to the New England Colonies, he gave in MS form to an Italian friend. It was not found and published until the beginning of this century.⁸ Dr. Hamilton established and sustained the Tuesday Club for the sole purpose of alleviating an educated gentleman's boredom with life in the "wretched" capital of the "poor, sickly, confused" Maryland Colony.⁹

He was born in Edinburgh in 1712, the son of the Principal of the University. He received his doctorate from the Medical School in 1737, and two years later settled in Annapolis. As early as 1743 he knew himself to be consumptive, and his New England voyage, in 1744, was in part therapeutic. In 1747 he married Margaret Dulany, daughter of the wealthy and influential Daniel Dulany. The bride was, according to the *Maryland Gazette* (June 2, 1747), "a well-accomplish'd and agreeable young Lady, with a handsome Fortune." But Dr. Hamilton's chief concern seems to have been the Tuesday Club. In 1754 he prepared his will and, even though he was already beginning to miss meetings, began the club's extensive *History*. He made the last entry in the club's records on February 10, 1756, and on May 11 he died. The *History* was apparently complete, and two of the volumes indexed. He was 44 years old.

When Franklin visited Annapolis the club was meeting every two weeks, and Electro Vitrifrico attended only one meeting. In all club proceedings a determinedly burlesque tone was maintained; and Franklin's quip, as well as the dialogue which gave rise to it, is a fair sample of "clubical" wit.

Just what Franklin said on that memorable occasion is, however, to a degree uncertain; for Dr. Hamilton, in the two fair copies of the minutes, casts some doubts on the reliability of his own record:

If the abstract of this political trial seems imperfect, the secretary thus apologizes for himself. Having no pen and ink at hand, he was obliged to use a lead pencil, and by the attrition and rubbing the writing was so obliterated, before he could find leisure to get it transcribed into the record book, that partly his memory, and partly his invention, served as a *succedaneum* for the defect of his eyes.

⁸ There have been two editions: *Hamilton's Itinerarium, Being a narrative of a journey*, etc., Limited Edition, edited by Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard University: St. Louis, W. K. Bixby, 1907; and *Gentleman's Progress, the Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744*, edited with an introduction by Carl Bridenbaugh: published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1948. The MS is at present in the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, Cal.

⁹ The adjectives are Dr. Hamilton's. *Itinerarium* (Chapel Hill, 1948), pp. 189 and 199.

The account in the record book at the Maryland Historical Society conforms almost exactly to the report in the *History*, except that the pseudonyms are not used. The account in the Johns Hopkins book is a minor variant:

D. Pres: ha, ha, the long standing members I think are waggish.

Mr. Frank: Long standing members, I think are not properly waggish, because if they stand they cannot wag.

The guest from Philadelphia, however, did not get in the last word. All three accounts report the rejoinder of Alexander Malcolm, the club Chancellor:

Chanc: With your leave, Sir, members must stand before they can wag.

Thus did the learned trial proceed, and was not determined any how, the delinquent [Beale Bordley] privately slipping out of the Club room, for fear of some severe sentence being denounced against him.¹⁰

Fellow guests with Franklin at this meeting were Dr. Thomas Thornton and John Ridout, both of the Annapolis vicinity and familiars of the club. Dr. Thornton (Dr. Nolens Valens in the *History*) was a witness in the mock trial, and made a learned contribution:

Beal: Bord: Gentlemen, you won't allow me to ask this evidence any questions.—avast there I say!—no dragoon law.

Chanc: Yea Sir,—but Club law—Club law.

Dr. Th: Thorn: Is that what is called Argumentum Baculare?¹¹

The meetings of the Tuesday Club were accompanied by food and drink, according to Club law and custom, and this was supplied by the host of the evening. One suspects, in reading the garrulous records, that the members, both long standing and honorary, and their guests, also fortified themselves in advance. Perhaps Dr. Hamilton, however, whose secretarial duties gave rise to almost 3,300 pages of fine goose-quill script, drank nothing but ink.

¹⁰ Transcription from JHU minute book. There is a variant in the MHS book: "Chanc: With your leave, Sir, I say yea, members must stand before they can wag or be waggish to any purpose."

¹¹ MHS minute book. *Baculare* is perhaps from *L. Baculus* or *Baculum*, a stick, staff, or sceptre, and hence a club. The Tuesday Club members, many of them professional men, affected their Latin.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Hollyday and Related Families of the Eastern Shore of Maryland including the Truman, Vaughan, Covington, Lloyd, Robins, Chamberlain, Hayward, Carmichael, Murray, Bennett, Earle, Chew, Hemsley, Tilghman, Goldsborough, and Other Families. By JAMES BORDLEY, JR. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1962. xii, 344. \$10.

Americans today are more aware than ever of their past. Interest in colonial houses and those who lived in them has become a national study and pastime to the point of obsession. People flock to Williamsburg and Winterthur, sign volumes of guest books at American shrines, go in droves to "open house" and "garden weeks," and buy books on the subject so avidly they become collectors' items.

Maryland has its share of beautiful old houses about which much has been written, but seldom does one find so rewarding a book as Dr. Bordley's on Colonial and Revolutionary Marylanders, their houses, and way of life. It is a documented study of upper class planters and their descendants down to the 20th century. The Hollydays and their relations built ships and sailed them, were merchants, doctors, lawyers, and held political, judicial, and military office in the province, state and nation. Today their houses are show-places drawing visitors from far and near.

The founder of this Hollyday family was Thomas (1668-1703), a merchant and ship-builder, who came to Maryland in 1678 and built "Billingsley" in Calvert County. His sons were Colonel Leonard (1691-1741) who built "Brookfield" (now destroyed) in Prince George's County, and James (1696-1747) who built "Read-bourne" and sired Henry (b. 1725) of "Ratcliffe Manor," imposing river front houses on the Eastern Shore. These men and their descendants married into equally important families about which Dr. Bordley writes informingly.

The wives of these Maryland planters ran large households when the plantations were domains, administered to the sick and, if need be, fought injustices to the highest court. Such was true of Sarah (Covington) Lloyd, widow of Edward Lloyd II of "Wye House" in Talbot County, and wife of James Hollyday I of this family.

When Edward Lloyd was president of the Council and acting governor he was accused by enemies of taking certain fees to which he was really entitled by law. He had his case plead before the Lords of Trade, in London, but died before he was vindicated at home. Sarah went before the lower house without gaining redress, then appealed to the Governor and Council where she won her suit.

This attractive woman was the daughter of Nehemiah and Rebecca (Denwood) Covington, Quakers, of "Covingtons Vineyard" in Somerset County, Maryland. As a girl of seventeen she so charmed the brothers Edward and Philemon Lloyd, heirs to one of Maryland's large fortunes, that both fell in love with her. They saw her first when she came to Yearly Meeting at Third Haven (at Easton) in 1700. After the Meeting was over the brothers set off separately, not knowing each others intention, for her father's house in Somerset. When Philemon arrived there stood his brother's "turnout" by the door. Aside, they agreed, that whoever had seen her first could first propose.

"The minute I took my seat in the Meeting House and looked around," Philemon said, "this young girl's face was singled out. . . ."

"Now the first offer is mine," replied Edward, for I saw her "on a pillion behind her father, and heard them ask the way to the Meeting. . . ." Edward won his suit and she became mistress of "Wye House" in Talbot County.

After Edward's death Sarah married James Hollyday (1696-1747) a young lawyer of ability who was thirteen years her junior. He had helped her with legal problems concerning the Lloyd estate, and though consulted on legal matters by leading men in the colony gave up active practice after his marriage to hold public office and lead the "Court Party" in Maryland. He served in the Assembly, was judge of the county and provincial courts, treasurer of the Eastern Shore, and member of the Governor's Council. He and Sarah built "Readbourne" on Chester River in Queen Anne's County between 1733 and 1740, though part of this time he spent in London.

After his death in 1747 Sarah herself went abroad where she died at her daughter's London house. A painting of her, in low neck dress and pearls by Gustavus Hesselius, is reproduced in the book.

Sarah's daughter, Rebecca (Lloyd) Anderson lived on Tower Hill and her house was "as bright and airy as any . . . in London." Here she entertained the Calverts, Dulanys, Ogles, Lloyds, "Squire" Carroll, the Signer's father, and other Maryland aristocrats. Her parties usually ended with a dance in the ballroom. She was close to her Hollyday half-brothers who came to visit. When James, II

was studying law at the Middle Temple he spent much time with the Andersons . . . "Sally" Anderson, his niece, was a special favorite and accompanied his flute playing on the spinet.

James is believed to have introduced the banjo to London society. When he returned to "Readbourne" he sent one to his cousin Lady Browne, wife of Sir William, and her musician, "proficient on a "guittar," played it at her entertainments. It created such a sensation that Sally wrote her uncle for his scale so she could both play and teach it. James was surprised that this "rude" instrument should prove so attractive. When first brought from Africa by the slaves the strings were of grass. What changes had been made by this time is not known.

Sally wrote her uncle amusing London gossip. At a "Drawing Room" at court she thought Queen Charlotte "no beauty and looks like a foreigner." A "Ridotto," after the coronation, was more to her liking with "dancing and much gambling until stopped by the King."

Sally's father William Anderson was a retired sea-captain who had a flourishing shipping business, and was sales agent for his brothers-in-law Richard and Edward Lloyd. The Lloyd brothers, said a contemporary, "have only goods for their own families. Mrs. R. Lloyd says they are cursed dear." Confidential communications to Lord Baltimore were sent in William Anderson's care, as well as important messages to Benjamin Franklin when he was a colonial agent in London.

William Anderson made a fortune which was only to be lost by his unbusiness like son, James, the eldest, who was raised in luxury and had no aptitude for commerce. James spent his time escorting his family around until his marriage to Meliora, daughter of Governor Samuel Ogle of Maryland. He was then made a partner by his father. No sooner had his father become too ill to manage his affairs, than James took the reins and proceeded to ruin the firm. Creditors took over and, after getting his mother to mortgage her property for 10,000£, he sailed to Maryland where he wasted what was left of this once handsome fortune, a fortune estimated at a quarter of a million dollars in his father's day. James died at "Tulley's Delight," a small farm near "Readbourne," and was buried without a prayer. A religious service, arranged a few days later, was unattended by his sisters, whom he had ruined, and the family of Henry Hollyday II.

Dr. Bordley's biographical sketches of the Hollydays and their kin are filled with family lore and contemporary comments about events leading up to the Revolution, the war itself, and successive

episodes in American history. He tells that Lieutenant Colonel Tench Tilghman (1744-1786), the patriot and Washington's friend and aide, rode James Hollyday's white horse on part of his historic ride from Yorktown to the Continental Congress.

A more recent descendant of the Tilghmans, through James, another Revolutionary patriot, is John Hays Hammond, Jr. (b. 1888) who invented a torpedo for coastal defense controlled by wireless energy, a system of radio control for ships, and other useful devices. His father John Hays Hammond, also a Tilghman descendant, was sentenced to death by the Boers for his connection with the Jameson raid. This was commuted to imprisonment, then to a \$125,000 fine when he returned to this country to pursue his distinguished engineering career and serve as special ambassador from this country at the coronation of George V of England.

It was Richard Hollyday (1842-1907), the last Hollyday owner of "Readbourne," who first interested Dr. Bordley in the family history. After Dr. Bordley's marriage to Margaretta Carroll, Mr. Hollyday's daughter, in 1899 this interest crystalized into a plan for a book. Along with his successful medical career, Dr. Bordley found time to read hundreds of letters, account books, diaries and other family records to accomplish this task. The result is an outstanding family history.

Professor Walter Blake Norris and Captain Walter D. Sharp, who prepared the book for publication, and the late James W. Foster, former Director, and the Maryland Historical Society are to be congratulated for the publication of this work.

GEORGE VALENTINE MASSEY II

Dover, Delaware

The American College and University: A History. By FREDERICK RUDOLPH. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962. ix, 516. \$6.75.

Professor Rudolph has attained greater success than anyone else in making something meaningful out of one of the most frustrating areas of American history. The history of higher education seems to promise so much, for in many ways the colleges are the very capstone of civilization, the source of leadership and ideas in a society, the mold and mirror of a nation's ideals. Historians have flocked to the subject. In the past fifty years at least 200 books have appeared—some by great scholars like Becker, Morison, Nevins, Curti and Barzun—to present the history of one institution as the

story in miniature of the best in society. And yet, alas, the books have not really been broadly significant. They seldom rose above the specific; patterns in the development of higher education hardly emerged; the meaning was not apparent. Finally, during the past few years, scholars like Hofstadter, Brubecher and Rudy, and now Rudolph, have taken the magnificent raw materials, and by putting them all together have set out again to find the history buried beneath the facts. Professor Rudolph, especially, is beginning to say something really significant.

He analyses the extraordinary passion for colleges in the earliest days of settlement as pioneers consciously sought to create leaders for a world that was truly brave and new. Deism of the 1780's added impetus to college founding, and a few years later American nationalism, sectarianism and moral zeal added further impetus, so that by 1830 frontier Ohio boasted 33 institutions of higher learning, while all of Great Britain got along with four. At the same time, Professor Rudolph believes that these pre-Civil War American colleges were basically failures because of their aristocratic attitudes, their reactionary classical curriculum, and their anti-intellectual moralism.

Reform began, he believes, toward the end of the nineteenth century when universities began to displace the old-time colleges. Reform was sparked by the coming of German scholarship at The Johns Hopkins, by the coming of electives which allowed specialization, by the new vocational courses and public service ideals of the land-grant institutions, by an influx of coeds, and by big-time football and intercollegiate rivalry. By the 1920's these reforms had been carried to excess. The high "educational plants" had dehumanized education, and the small colleges reasserted themselves. Today the universities and colleges balance each other.

This is a book of generalizations, and along the way Professor Rudolph scatters countless minor themes and incidental ideas. Some of the least important are the most fascinating. For me, the brief analysis of the first fraternities (p. 149), the one-page history of college debating (p. 451), or the correlation of college football with Social Darwinism (p. 381) are alone worth the reading of the book.

On the other hand, this is far from the last word on the development of higher education. Many elements in the story are missing; many of the generalizations are fuzzy and hard to understand; many are doubtful, or contradictory, or just plain untrue. It is jarring, for example, when the author says that the Lutherans and Unitarians are Calvinists (p. 55), that the Jacksonians were opposed

to religion (p. 205), that "the descendants of Bacon and Rousseau . . . obliterated" humanism in the 1880's (p. 306 and repeated p. 453), and that college deans are more hostile to scholarship than college presidents (p. 435). Professor Rudolph has made a brilliant foray into a fascinating and frustrating field, and probably he will encourage others to even greater success.

GEORGE H. CALLCOTT

University of Maryland

President James Buchanan. A Biography. By PHILIP SHRIVER KLEIN.

University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1962.
xviii, 506. \$7.50.

James Buchanan climbed the political ladder in the wrong half of the nineteenth century. Had he lived in the post Civil War era, his name might now rank high in Professor Schlesinger's presidential polls of historians—like Cleveland's or Arthur's, who shone by comparison with incompetents and non-entities. But it was the Crisis Decade of the 'Fifties which made inordinate demands on Buchanan and found him wanting.

Nor should the presidential failure have come as a surprise. All of Buchanan's previous career—so bland, so basically uncommitted, so colorless (despite a full participation in the rituals of popular politics), so dull—indicated unmistakably that imaginative leadership was not in him. His nomination by the Democrats of 1856 testified to the bankruptcy of national politics at that moment. Put forward in the hope that reasonable temporizing might preserve the status quo for four years, and ease the nation's problems out of sight, Buchanan floundered for several reasons. First his nature—both with regard to personal relationships and his abhorrence of ideological extremes—precluded the sort of lashing out in adversity which made Andrew Johnson our most memorable presidential failure; and second, the nature of the crisis, barring capitulation on one side or the other, indeed made it an irrepressible conflict.

These views of Buchanan are not those adopted by Professor Klein in this full scale and gentle account of the ill-starred bachelor from Lancaster, Pa. But they seem to me to spring from this tale honestly told. Klein gives us the best Buchanan biography to date, through a thorough use of Buchanan manuscript material. Many other collections of private papers are carried in the bibliography, but with few exceptions (such as the Howell Cobb Papers) have not been fully utilized. The Buchanan who emerges is always

sane and sensible, and equally plodding and derivative. Klein traces his advancement through the prescribed stages of state legislator, congressman, senator, minister, cabinet member, and the final costly prize.

The author knows ante-bellum Pennsylvania politics. He masters the confusions of Keystone factionalism, and keeps the groupings well-ordered before the reader's eyes. But missing from the account is a comprehensive attempt to relate the "superstructure" of state politics to the economic and social movements which influenced the political shifts. For example, antimasonry, silly as it was on its own terms, is now regarded by historians as an important part of social protest in that era. Klein makes references to antimasonic candidates, but makes little effort to deal with the movement. And the changes in the state's economy during Buchanan's lifetime merited discussion as political determinants. As for the Buchanan administration, Klein admits that his treatment was not exhaustive in view of what he apparently considers the definitive nature of Nichols' *Disruption of American Democracy*.

Klein has written a friendly apologia for a much maligned individual. His style is clear, though cliché-ridden. From it comes the portrait of a man one would gladly have for an uncle. From 1857 to 1861 Buchanan was clearly the wrong man for the job. Could anyone, whatever his outward displays of energy, have done better? Probably not, but as a Jacksonian, Buchanan should have known that the appearance of lassitude is not the way to impose one's will. The problem of Buchanan in the secession crisis will remain to supply forensic fuel for countless generations of historical revisionists and their foes.

FRANK OTTO GATELL

University of Maryland

America's Polish Heritage: A Social History of the Poles in America.

By JOSEPH WYTRWAL. Detroit: Endurance Press, 1961. xxxi, 294. \$6.50.

Following the pattern established by earlier studies of immigrant groups, Dr. Wytrwal recounts the various stages of Polish removal to America, the predominant motives which prompted the uprooting in each stage, and the efforts made by Polish-Americans to preserve the culture of their homeland in the New World environment. He also includes chapters that describe the long and troubled history of the immigrants' old country in somewhat more detail

than is usual in such works—perhaps most Americans' ignorance of Polish history justifies this elaboration.

The author divides Polish immigration into three phases: the "adventurer" pioneers of 1608-1776; the political refugees of 1776-1870; and the primarily economically-motivated mass migration that got underway about 1870 and persisted until the Statue of Liberty's lamp went out in the 1920s. Each wave carried with it some notable individuals who made distinctive contributions to America's development—soldiers, intellectuals, scientists, actors and artists—and, of course, Wytrwal does not overlook listing their names.

Yet, it seems to this reviewer that Wytrwal fails to spell out very specifically just what the total impact of Polish immigrant culture, considered *as a whole*, has been on our evolving American civilization. Perhaps this is because the mass of Polish-Americans, coming after 1870, proved more successful than other groups in isolating themselves from the mainstream of American life. Their protective organizations—such as the Polish National Alliance and particularly the clergy-dominated Polish Roman Catholic Union, whose activities the author recounts at length—for a long time walled Polish-American influence within narrow and inbred limits bounded by the home, the church, the parochial school, the corner saloon, and the soccer field. But perhaps their very success in doing so inhibited establishment of the sort of contacts with American society in general which might persist, and at least symbolize America's Polish tradition, after the narrow walls had collapsed, as they inevitably must.

With the growth of adulthood of native-born second, third, and fourth generations of Polish-Americans, and with the virtual cessation of immigration after 1924, the nationality and religious-centered activities of the P. N. A. and the P. R. C. U. began to lose their appeal and the "assimilation" of the younger people made rapid strides. Dr. Wytrwal is much concerned with this phenomenon and with the future, as a distinct element, of the rapidly disintegrating Polish-American community. Although his handling of these important matters is overly-encumbered with sociological jargon, nevertheless his discussion of the nature of "American nationality" does benefit considerably from the flood of new insights that students of immigration have provided us with in the last few years. In this respect, at least, Wytrwal's book is superior to some of the earlier works of its type.

The author seems to view philosophically and with resignation the fate that is befalling Polish-America. "Fifty years ago," he writes, "the Polish orator was wont to disclaim, 'We love Poland as our mother and America as our bride.' Today it would be truer

to say: 'We love America as our mother and Poland as our grandmother of whom for a fast-growing number of us there will soon be little left but fond tradition.' " But perhaps even the awareness and enjoyment of that "fond tradition" is limited only to the small number of Polish-Americans who choose to treasure it. Most other Americans have never been permitted to savor it, and hence cannot cherish it, as they do the symbolic vestiges of other American immigrant groups' cultures. Perhaps the earliest generations of Polish-Americans protected themselves too well—and all in vain.

J. JOSEPH HUTHMACHER

Georgetown University

Roosevelt and Howe. By ALFRED B. ROLLINS, JR. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962. x, 479. \$5.95.

Professor Rollins' book deserves success. It is well-written and scholarly, so that both the amateur and the professional historian may find satisfaction in it. Its subject matter is of first-rate importance and has long needed full scale treatment. Its facts are accurate and the interpretation of them is reasonable and objective.

This is, among other things, almost a full-length biography of Louis McHenry Howe. But the major figure is, of course, Franklin D. Roosevelt. It is difficult to see how anyone, from now on, who wants an understanding of our very complex thirty-first president, can neglect this book. F. D. R. is here with his many virtues: his energy, his broad interests, his tolerance and humanitarianism, his love of life and of the game of politics; and his numerous faults: his occasional arrogance, his carelessness, his indecisive moments, his weakness for flashy ideas (Professor Rollins' phrase), and his sly politicking.

Roosevelt and Howe should go on the shelf just before Robert Sherwood's *Roosevelt and Hopkins*. The two books go together. They deal with the same subject. The same Roosevelt turns up in both of them. So, very nearly, does the same presidential confidant and handy man.

Howe and Hopkins turn out to have been astonishingly alike. They performed quite similar services for the president—trouble shooters, confidants and companions, Machiavellian political connivers, speech writers, ever faithful, ever loyal friends come hell or high water. There was no overlapping in their careers. Hopkins came along after Howe was gone. It appears that Roosevelt needed

just that kind of man near him. Probably all presidents do, if they can find such a rare person. F. D. R. found *two* of them, one after the other! They were men of quite different background than the president, men dedicated entirely to him and dependent upon him, but men who could say "no" and argue, and then, if they lost the argument, loyally and selflessly carry out the tasks the boss asked of them.

Both Howe and Hopkins had a lusty sense of humor; both could be rather ruthless and somewhat underhanded at times; yet both were fundamentally moral, idealistic, and humanitarian. Both seemed to have an almost psychic understanding of the way F. D. R.'s mind worked. Both were sickly men. Neither of them hesitated to spend money lavishly for what they considered the public good. They even had quite similar tastes. Both wrote poetry of a sort, and both liked to play the horses. Probably Hopkins was a somewhat bigger man than Howe. It does not seem likely that Louis could have played the part taken by Harry in international affairs. Yet Louis was an extraordinary man. Perhaps he could have, given the opportunity.

A battered veteran of the Liberty League would not like this book. But most people on the sunny side of him would. Eleanor-haters would not like it either, because it pays, incidentally, a fine tribute to Mrs. Roosevelt. It seems to me that the picture the author gives us of Franklin D. Roosevelt and his times is the one that is going to be accepted by historians of the future, when Americans have moved far enough from the New Deal to be truly objective.

WALLACE P. BISHOP

Northeastern University

John C. Calhoun—Opportunist: A Reappraisal. By GERALD M. CAPERS. Gainesville: The University of Florida Press, 1960. viii, 254. \$6.75.

The later biographers of Calhoun, as Professor Capers notes, have tended to make the Carolinian the symbol of the Lost Cause, of the purity of southern motives. They have portrayed an irreproachable statesman and political philosopher, a man moved only by high patriotism to seek high office, a figure too lofty for "low personal ambition" or the "sordid methods of his rivals" (p. 78). Capers is well aware of the problems which must be confronted in a re-examination of this likeness. In the first place, "Human motivation

is often difficult to determine" (p. 189). In the second, Calhoun's "letters and speeches contain ample evidence that in his own mind he was not sacrificing his principles for personal ambition, and he vehemently denied the allegation" (p. 189). Capers acknowledges that "At no stage in his career can it be clearly proved that he consciously placed his own fortunes above those of the nation" (p. 79). What then is Capers's point? It is that Calhoun, "Calvinistic in mental habit and temperament, . . . could never admit personal ambition but had to rationalize his policies and his every political act exclusively in terms of national interest" (p. 78). In fact, Calhoun's "desire for the presidency was always a factor which, at least subconsciously, influenced his conduct" (p. 189).

In my judgment this avowedly "hypothetical . . . interpretation" (p. vi) rather more fails than succeeds. To be sure, Capers does supply some evidence of Calhoun's deviousness, and, despite the fact what appears as deviousness is in part attributable to a political tradition of concealment and pseudonymity at least as old as the *Federalist Papers*, Capers' off-white image is more credible than the shining portaits of Wiltse and Coit. Capers' failure lies partly in an oversimple explanation of Calhoun's behavior; nor is the subconscious documentable. He fails in other respects as well. His first seven chapters provide numerous object lessons in academic irresponsibility ranging in seriousness from self-contradiction and unwarranted insinuation to poor taste. His study uncritically subscribes to a number of challenged interpretations (for example, the Pratt and Hacker theses concerning the origins of the War of 1812), and reveals no familiarity with the pertinent work of Brant, Balinky, Dangerfield, Snyder, Dorfman, and others. Nor can he make up his mind about the meaning of his own findings. On one page (192) Calhoun is depicted as honestly regarding the preservation of the Union "as his major objective"; on another (254), it is clear that "he put his allegiance to the South ahead of it."

STUART BRUCHEY

Michigan State University

Washington Village and Capital, 1800-1878. By CONSTANCE McLAUGHLIN GREEN. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962. xi, 445. \$8.50.

To write the political, economic, social and cultural history of a city can easily bog down in trying to do the research on the land deeds alone, if not sorting gossip from fact in the local papers.

Constance Green is well aware that she could not cover everything and makes no pretense of writing the "definitive" history. The result is a survey of the history of Washington with emphasis upon aspects of its history according to the availability of materials and her own inclinations. To most readers the chief interest is sure to be the political story, for the confusion which resulted when the U. S. Congress tried to legislate for the District is as fascinating as it was frustrating. She slips quietly and easily through the social history and what cultural changes there were, but she pauses to write in some detail about the founding of schools, orphanages, poor homes, the Smithsonian Institute, etc., to fill out the general political and economic narrative. She has frankly omitted architectural history, a book in itself, and partially available in several good monographs. If there is any fault, it is her slender characterization of the personalities involved in some of the incidents she emphasizes.

Her work provides the first, modern and well documented history of the city. She plans one more volume, but I suspect that two would be better. The growth of Washington after 1879 was rapid and complicated, the reports of the District committees alone are endless and absorbing. Having made a fine start, it would be unfortunate if she had to compress to phrases and sentences subjects which deserve and need paragraphs and pages to explain.

Her bibliographical essay is excellent and long over-due, and her bibliography and notes should provide an excellent starting point for future students. Aside from her contribution to urban history, she has demonstrated the virtues and faults of the U. S. Congress from a point of view not well known or understood. And this side-view of the Congress is a very real contribution to our understanding of that peculiar institution.

ALEXANDER R. BUTLER

Michigan State University

The Landon Carter Papers in the University of Virginia Library: A Calendar and Biographical Sketch. By WALTER RAY WINE-MAN. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1962. viii, 99. \$7.50.

This small volume of the papers of Landon Carter (1710-1778) of Sabine Hall deals with the life and times of a typical representative of the ruling class of eighteenth-century Virginia. This collection, although small, is an important one because of the man and what he represents.

Mr. Wineman has written a concise biographical sketch of Colonel Carter which places him in his proper historical perspective. While not large, the volume nevertheless is one which the scholar of pre-Revolutionary Virginia must consult. One can only wish that we had similar calendars and biographical sketches in print of some of the Marylanders whose papers are available for use.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Maryland Hall of Records

The Lords Baltimore. By NAN HAYDEN AGLE and FRANCES ATCHINSON BACON. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962. 134. \$3.50.

This seems to be the first book about the Lords Baltimore written specifically for young people. Placing most of its emphasis rightly on George and Cecilius, the planner and the firm establisher, Mrs. Agle and Mrs. Bacon have covered the whole story of Maryland as palatinate and royal colony. Only slightly fictionalized, and making no other special concessions to immaturity, it reads along very pleasantly and well. Leonard Vosburgh has contributed many attractive drawing as illustrations. The story of course is an excellent one, with all the elements of success, and its logical end comes logically at the beginning of the American Revolution, only a step away when the last Lord Baltimore, Frederick, died in 1771 without a legal heir.

Mrs. Agle and Mrs. Bacon, who are respectively a Baltimore teacher and a Baltimore librarian, call Henry Harford his illegitimate son right straight out, not mincing words because this is a book for young people. Young people have heard of illegitimate sons before, and this is straight history. The authors also use many words which young people may not have heard before, and will have to look up and ask about, but this too is all to the good; the trend toward books written from an approved list of easy words seems a pernicious one. There is no index, which is certainly not bringing up children in the way they should go, and there are a few irritants (Lady Anne Arundell again), but the book is very well researched and conscientiously written and as a whole may be well recommended.

The definitive adult book about the Lords Baltimore remains, of course, to be written.

ELLEN HART SMITH

Owensboro, Ky.

From Shiloh to San Juan: The Life of "Fightin' Joe" Wheeler.

By JOHN P. DYER. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961. viii, 275. \$5.

This work originally appeared in 1941. The revised edition of the biography of Major General Joseph Wheeler, C. S. A., (1836-1906) contains more emphasis upon his Civil War career than does the earlier study. Wheeler was just under thirty years of age when the Civil War ended, so he had the opportunity to commence a new and active life. It went from that of the soldier to the businessman then to the politician and finally back to the soldier, in which capacity he served in the Spanish-American War of 1898.

"Fightin' Joe" was probably one of the most colorful of all the Civil War cavalry commanders. Short and wiry, he led the Army of the Tennessee cavalry through many engagements before he was finally taken prisoner in May of 1865. In 1898, he immediately offered his services to his country as evidence that the scars of the Civil War had finally been healed and the country once more united. He also served with the same degree of distinction at Santiago.

While Wheeler had no apparent Maryland connections, he did have many Northern ones. This book, however, should be of interest to Marylanders because like the earlier edition, it is by all odds an outstanding biography of an outstanding military leader.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Maryland Hall of Records

BOOKS RECEIVED

- The Lords Baltimore.* By NAN HAYDEN AGLE and FRANCES ATCHINSON BACON. Illustrated. By LEONARD VOSBURGH. New York; Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962. 134. \$3.50.
- Shipcarvers of North America.* By M. V. BREWINGTON. Barre, Mass.; Barre Publishing Company, 1962. xiv, 173. \$12.
- Guide to Old Georgetown.* By GERTRUDE ORR and ALICE COYLE TORBERT. Washington, D. C.; Premier Press, 1962. \$1.
- By Sea and By River: The Naval History of the Civil War.* By BERN ANDERSON. New York; Alfred A. Knopf, 1962. xxii, 303. \$5.95.
- H L M The Mencken Bibliography.* Compiled by BETTY ADLER with the assistance of JANE WILHELM. Baltimore; The Johns Hopkins Press, 1961. xi, 365. \$7.50.
- Baltimore's Music: The Haven of the American Composer.* By LUBOV KEEFER. Baltimore; J. H. Furst Co., 1962. xvii, 343. \$2.50.
- Saints and Sectaries: Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in The Massachusetts Bay Colony.* By EMERY BATTIS. Chapel Hill; The University of North Carolina Press, 1962. (Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg). xv, 379. \$7.50.
- Joseph Nichols And The Nicholites.* By KENNETH CARROLL. Easton, Md.; The Easton Publishing Company, 1962. 116. \$3.75.
- Republican Heyday: Republican Through The McKinley Years.* By CLARENCE A. STERN. Ann Arbor, Michigan; Edward Brothers, Inc., 1962. 97. \$1.25.
- Resurgent Republicanism: The Handiwork of Hanna.* By CLARENCE A. STERN. Ann Arbor, Michigan; Edward Brothers, Inc., 1963. 96. \$1.25.
- William Fitzhugh And His Chesapeake World 1676-1701: The Fitzhugh Letters and Other Documents.* Edited by RICHARD BEALE DAVIS. Chapel Hill; The University of North Carolina Press, 1963. (Published for the Virginia Historical Society) xvi, 399. \$7.50.
- Chinese Export Porcelain For the American Trade 1785-1835.* By JEAN MCCLURE MUDGE. New York; University Publishers Inc., 1963. Published by The University of Delaware Press. xxii, 284. \$15.
- Chesapeake Bay Log Canoes and Bugeyes.* By MARION V. BREWINGTON. Cambridge, Md.; Cornell Maritime Press, 1963. x, 171. \$10.

NOTES AND QUERIES

PARKER GENEALOGICAL CONTEST

Following are the winning entries in the Dudrea and Sumner Parker Annual Genealogical Award for 1962. *First*: G. Rodney Crowther, III, 4411 Bradley Lane, Chevy Chase 15, Md., for "Lowe of Denby, County Derby, England, and Maryland." *Second*: John B. Mahool, Jr., 4411 Klinge St., N. W., Washington, D. C., for "Genealogy and Biography of the Descendants of Abraham Jackson of Fell's Point, Maryland, and His Wife Ann Alment Jackson." *Third*: E. Earl Hearn, 6106 Pinehurst Road, Baltimore 12, Md., for "The LeComptes. A History of the Family of Monsieur Antoine LeCompte and His Descendants from the First Settlement in Dorchester County in 1659."

Authors of family pedigrees, charts, and other papers concerned with Maryland families are invited to submit manuscripts in this contest which was initiated in 1946 by Mrs. Sumner A. Parker and is designed to promote the preparation of family records and their deposit in the Society's library. Preference will be given those papers that present a connected and orderly account of one or more families closely identified with the State. Entrants may be either members or non-members of the Society, and all papers entered will become the property of the Society. Prizes are \$35.00 *first*; \$25.00 *second*; and \$15.00 *third*. Entries for the 1963 Award should be received on or before December 31, and should be addressed, "Parker Genealogical Contest, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore 1, Md."

House and Garden Pilgrimage—Once-a-year opportunity to visit an unusual number of this country's most handsome and historic homes and many of her loveliest gardens. This year's House Tours concentrate on the famous Eastern Shore, Southern Maryland, and the countryside close to Baltimore. The Water Cruises for the first time will leave Baltimore for a trip down Chesapeake Bay to Oxford, colonial seaport whose fame preceded Baltimore's. The schedule follows:

they had three daughters: (1) Mary Maria Ruth, b. May 15, 1788; died March 20, 1825; married Capt. Alexander Thompson; (2) Elizabeth Ruth, b. December 22, 1790; died June 25, 1872; married Capt. Plummer Southcomb; (3) Catherine Overe Ruth, b. October 22, 1798; died July 1, 1887; married Capt. William Frisbie.

(Miss) MARIE EVELYN BIERAU
4319 No. Pershing Drive, Apt. 2
Arlington 3, Va.

Baumgartner—I want information about David Baumgartner (Bomgardner, etc.), born Frederick Co., Md., probably c. 1785, died Huntingdon Co., Pa., 1845. Was he son of Michael?

MRS. CLARK KINNAIRD
76 Mine St., Flemington, N. J.

Hopkins—Wanted names of parents of Mary Hopkins of Anne Arundel Co., and date of her marriage to Benjamin Hewitt (Hewett or Huet) about 1790; also names of parents of Benjamin Hewitt who owned "Carthogena" at Drayden, Md. and Forest Plantation at Valley Lee, St. Mary's Co., Md., in 1834; also names of parents and husband of Mary Booth and names of parents of her husband. Mary Booth died in St. Mary's Co. about 1783/85. She appears to have been the mother of Joseph Booth of West St. Mary's Manor who died about 1815.

VINCEN J. HUGHES
4402 Raspe Ave., Baltimore 6, Md.

American Spies—I am preparing a book-length history of America's espionage effort from the time of the first permanent settlement at Jamestown in 1607 to the close of the first World War. I should very much like to hear from any readers of the *Magazine* who may have knowledge of little-known episodes involving Americans in the act of spying. "Spying" I by no means restrict to military intelligence—gathering alone. It embraces any American effort directed against representatives of an alien authority, whether that was an Indian in the colonial period, a British soldier during the Revolution, the Mexicans in the 1848 war, etc. Americans dispatched abroad as secret agents of this Government are also

included. Data on any such topics will be gratefully acknowledged and, where at all feasible, publicly commemorated in my forthcoming book.

CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS
A-2, Homewood Apts., Baltimore 18, Md.

Clayton—Information is requested on the parents of Sarah Clayton the Elder (b. —, d. 1794), wife of Wm. Clayton of "Chesterfield," Queen Anne's County (b. —, d. 1766). Sarah mentions her nephew, George Baynard, [Jr.] and her nieces Rachel and Mary Baynard in her will. George Baynard, Sr. m. [3rd] Anne Wright at St. Luke's, Church Hill, in 1751. Anne was the mother of George Baynard, Jr. (Col. George Baynard, 1752-1794). Who were Anne Wright's parents, and did she have a sister, Sarah (?)

BRYDEN B. HYDE
Gibson Island, Md.

CONTRIBUTORS

DR. RAYMOND W. TYSON is Associate Professor at the University of Mississippi in the Department of Speech. He previously taught at Pennsylvania State University, Columbia University, and Davidson College.

MR. JOHN W. BLASSINGAME is Instructor in the Social Science Department at Howard University.

MR. J. REANEY KELLY is a student of Maryland history and the author of "Old Quaker Burying Ground" which appeared in the December, 1960, issue of the *Magazine*. At present he is working on a book, "Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County," to be published by the Society.

MISS GRACE OVERMYER is the author of a book on John Howard Payne, *America's First Hamlet*. She has published numerous magazine articles and two other books: *Government and the Arts*, a pioneer survey of official aid to the fine arts in the United States and more than fifty foreign countries; and *Famous American Composers*, brief biographies of a dozen musically creative Americans, with emphasis on historical backgrounds.

MR. ROBERT R. HARE is Instructor in English at the University of Maryland. He was a feature writer for the *Baltimore Sun* and *Evening Sun*, 1939-47. Currently, he has in press a facsimile reprint edition of the novel, *The Emigrants*, to which he has added an important introduction concerning the authorship of the work.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

FOR THE YEAR 1962

December Fifth

Nineteen Hundred Sixty Two

Maryland Historical Society
Baltimore, Maryland

We have examined the accompanying Balance Sheet, resulting from cash transactions, of the Maryland Historical Society as of September 30, 1962, and the related Statement of Operations for the year then ended. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

In our opinion, the accompanying statements present fairly the assets and liabilities of the Maryland Historical Society at September 30, 1962, resulting from cash transactions, and the income collected and expenses disbursed during the year then ended, on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

ROBERT W. BLACK

Certified Public Accountant

EXHIBIT A

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

BALANCE SHEET—SEPTEMBER 30, 1962

CURRENT FUND ASSETS

Current Assets

Cash in Bank—Operating Funds	\$ 4,227.89
—Special Funds	23,320.56
Cash On Hand	<u>100.00</u>

TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS..... \$ 27,648.45

Fixed Assets

Real Estate (Keyser Memorial Building)	\$100,000.00
Air Conditioning	10,330.00
Books	1.00
Manuscripts and Prints	1.00
Printings and Statuary	1.00
Furniture and Fixtures	<u>1.00</u>

TOTAL FIXED ASSETS

\$110,334.00

TOTAL CURRENT FUND ASSETS

\$137,982.45

Restricted Fund		
Cash		\$ 18,228.53
Endowment Fund		
Cash Corpus	\$	2,587.95
Cash Deposit—Baltimore Equitable Society		90.00
Mortgage Receivable		11,915.87
Real Estate		491,828.96
Due from Current Fund		3,041.46
Bonds		984.08
Stocks		117,482.49
Ground Rents		666.66
TOTAL ENDOWMENT FUND ASSETS		\$628,597.47
Forward		<u>\$784,808.45</u>
Daingerfield Fund		
Cash Corpus	\$	104.34
Bonds		67,312.54
Stocks		95,305.50
TOTAL DAINGERFIELD FUND ASSETS		<u>\$162,722.38</u>
Wild Fund		
Cash Corpus	\$	159.26
Bonds		12,705.00
Stocks		49,106.45
Ground Rent		1,307.00
TOTAL WILD FUND ASSETS		<u>\$ 63,277.71</u>
Williams Fund		
Cash Corpus	\$	1,049.16
Due from Current Fund		3,582.30
Bonds		4,987.33
Stocks		189,169.38
TOTAL WILLIAMS FUND ASSETS		<u>\$198,788.17</u>
		<u><u>\$1,209,596.71</u></u>

EXHIBIT A

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND
BALANCE SHEET—SEPTEMBER 30, 1962

CURRENT FUND LIABILITIES

Current Liabilities		
Due to Endowment Fund	\$	3,041.46
Due to Williams Fund		3,582.30
Special Fund Account		32,629.86
Accrued Salaries and Expenses		6,051.79
TOTAL CURRENT LIABILITIES		<u>\$ 45,305.41</u>

Net Worth

Reserve for Latrobe Papers Repair Fund	\$ 2,802.21	
Surplus—Schedule # 1	<u>89,874.83</u>	
TOTAL NET WORTH		<u>\$ 92,677.04</u>
TOTAL CURRENT FUND LIABILITIES AND NET WORTH		<u>\$137,982.45</u>

Restricted Fund

Restricted Fund	<u>\$ 18,228.53</u>
-----------------------	---------------------

Endowment Fund

Endowment Fund Reserve	<u>\$628,597.47</u>
TOTAL ENDOWMENT FUND	<u>\$628,597.47</u>
	<u>\$784,808.45</u>

Daingerfield Fund

Daingerfield Fund Reserve	<u>\$162,722.38</u>
TOTAL DAINGERFIELD FUND	<u>\$162,722.38</u>

Wild Fund

Wild Fund Reserve	<u>\$ 63,277.71</u>
TOTAL WILD FUND	<u>\$ 63,277.71</u>

Williams Fund

Williams Fund Reserve	<u>\$198,788.17</u>
TOTAL WILLIAMS FUND	<u>\$198,788.17</u>
	<u>\$1,209,596.71</u>

EXHIBIT A
Schedule # 1

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

STATEMENT OF CURRENT FUND SURPLUS

SEPTEMBER 30, 1962

Balance—October 1, 1961 \$112,083.40

Deduct

Excess of Expenses over Income for the Year ended September 30, 1962 (Exhibit B)	\$19,208.57	
Amount designated as Latrobe Collection Repair Fund	<u>3,000.00</u>	<u>22,208.57</u>

Balance—September 30, 1962 \$ 89,874.83

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS
CURRENT FUND

for the year ended September 30, 1962

INCOME		
Dues and Contributions		
Dues	\$26,883.00	
Contributions	<u>1,508.65</u>	
TOTAL DUES AND CONTRIBUTIONS		<u>\$28,391.65</u>
Investment Income		
Securities—Net	\$26,614.49	
Real Estate—Net	10,589.91	
Trust	<u>3,840.85</u>	
TOTAL INVESTMENT INCOME		<u>\$41,045.25</u>
From the State of Maryland		
Archives Account	\$ 1,399.92	
Index Fund	<u>4,835.84</u>	
TOTAL STATE OF MARYLAND INCOME		<u>\$ 6,235.76</u>
Other Income		
Sales of Publications	\$ 2,757.46	
Magazine Advertising	933.50	
Service Charge and Fees	414.47	
Sales of Fixtures—Thomas House	<u>3,096.67</u>	
TOTAL OTHER INCOME		<u>\$ 7,202.10</u>
TOTAL INCOME—Forward		<u>\$82,874.76</u>

EXHIBIT B
(Continued)

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

BALANCE SHEET—SEPTEMBER 30, 1960

Forwarded		\$ 82,874.76
EXPENSES		
Salaries and Wages		
Salaries	\$55,668.97	
Pensions	3,418.16	
Social Security	<u>1,804.24</u>	\$60,891.37
Library		
Books and Manuscripts	\$ 2,293.51	
Binding and Repairs	678.63	
Supplies and Photostats	<u>1,391.86</u>	\$ 4,364.00

Gallery and Museum

Repairs	\$ 558.31	
Exhibits	5.93	
Supplies and Expense	<u>468.58</u>	\$ 1,032.82

Publications

Magazines and Bulletins	\$ 8,992.86	
-------------------------------	-------------	--

Building Maintenance

Maintenance and Repairs	\$ 1,052.94	
Supplies	802.98	
Heat, Light and Power	4,019.01	
Insurance and ADT	<u>5,818.20</u>	\$11,693.13

State Funds (Non-Salary)

Index Fund	\$ 204.51	
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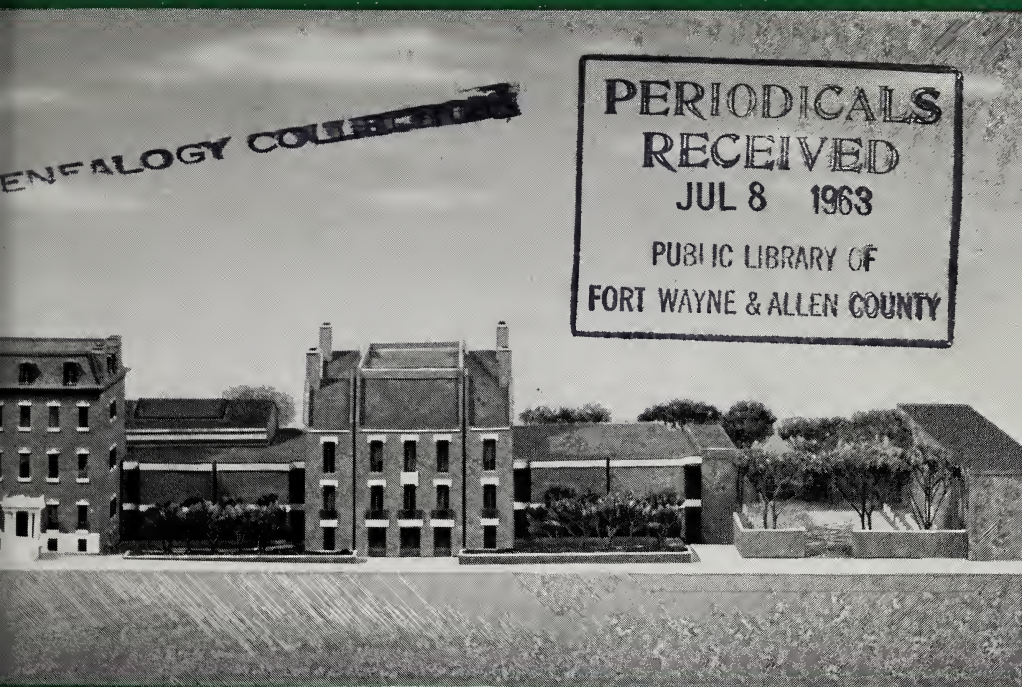
Other Expenses

Addresses	\$ 1,271.92	
Membership Promotion	494.67	
Postage	1,404.96	
Telephone	1,469.05	
Office and Other Supplies	1,507.52	
Depreciation	28.75	
Accounting	720.00	
Continuation of Directors' Salary	1,750.02	
General Travel, etc.	2,138.88	
Latrobe Papers Cost	<u>4,118.87</u>	<u>\$14,904.64</u>

TOTAL EXPENSES \$102,083.33

EXCESS OF EXPENSES OVER INCOME (\$ 19,208.57)

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



Architect's Model of Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building,
The Addition to the Society Buildings, p. 171.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE

June · 1963

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Activities

Provides library reference service to about 4,000 patrons yearly—scholars, writers, genealogists, students, collectors, artists. Mail and telephone inquiries double the figure.

Conducts lecture tours of its museum for an annual average of about 8,000 school students. Another 10,000 casual visitors, including tourists, view the collections, in addition to many museum students, collectors, hobbyists and authorities in given fields who utilize stored items for study.

Advises and assists 23 local historical societies in the counties, the work culminating in an Annual Conference of Maryland Historical Societies at which a Maryland Heritage Award is presented for outstanding accomplishment in historical preservation.

Maintains liaison with such allied groups as patriotic societies.

Acts as consultant to civic and governmental groups relative to publications and commemorative occasions.

Publishes the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, and *Maryland History Notes*. Circulation over 3,500 each.

Publishes scholarly works and low-cost school books and leaflets on Maryland history—over 50 different titles.

Holds meetings, open to the public, for lectures by authorities in various fields, including prominent government officials.

Stages special exhibits with timely themes.

1 1 1

For the Government of the State at cost

Edits, publishes and distributes the *Archives of Maryland*. 70th volume in preparation.

Conducts a program of marking historic sites with roadside signs.

Indexes important, original papers relating to Maryland history.

Preserves and publishes data pertaining to Maryland's contribution to World War II.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. 58, No. 2

JUNE, 1963

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Richard Walsh, *Editor*

C. A. Porter Hopkins, *Asst. Editor*

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume 58

JUNE, 1963

Number 2

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WRITINGS OF SENATOR ARTHUR PUE GORMAN

By JOHN R. LAMBERT, JR.

In the final decade of his long and active political career, Senator Arthur Pue Gorman of Maryland penned several short autobiographical memoranda dealing with key events in which he had played an active role.¹ In October, 1941, some of these documents were discovered at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Richard Johnson, and others at the home of his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Arthur P. Gorman, Jr., both then residents of Laurel, Maryland. At the close of World War II, these and other Gorman papers were placed on restricted deposit at the Maryland Historical Society, and in 1961 were presented to the Society by Mrs. Gorman.

Believing that these manuscripts are of more than purely

¹ Arthur Pue Gorman (1839-1906) dominated both the Democratic party and the Maryland political scene from about 1880 to his death. He served four terms in the U.S. Senate and became a power in the national council of his party as well as in the "Cleveland Era."

antiquarian interest, the *Maryland Historical Magazine* has undertaken to publish several of them for the first time. In so far as possible, editorial comment has been reduced to a minimum in the belief that Gorman's personal observations, albeit in abbreviated language, and with some amazing errors in spelling, read better than an over-edited version would. Gorman's dashes have been converted to appropriate punctuation marks, and where wrongly used, his periods have been deleted. Where Gorman did not employ punctuation (the comma in a series for example) marks have been inserted sparingly, only for the sake of clarity, for fear such changes would too greatly alter the nature of the Gorman manuscript. Readers wishing to obtain a fuller background account of the relevant episodes of Gorman's life can find one in the standard published biography.²

1. BIOGRAPHICAL MEMORANDUM

In April, 1905, Senator Gorman made a few notes concerning the early years of his career. In what appears to be the tentative beginnings of an autobiography, he describes his days as an employee of the Senate and his experiences during the Civil War.

Came to Washington Dec. 1850.¹ Served as Extra page. Beal Sgt. At Arms Old Chambr.

Name Senators, then in Senate

1851 Dec. Appointed Page—Regular.

The Libry Fire. Destruction of Bust of Washington—1905. Was Member of Committee to reced Duplicate given French Embassador. Only one present who had seen the Original.

Served as page until 1855. Appointd messenger in Post Office Jameson Post Master—Smallwd Spt.

1861. Brown Segt at Arms J. W. Jinnis Post M. I was made Assistant

Battle Balls Bluff. Trip on Horseback to Camp Genl Gorn [?] Frederick Cty.

1863—R. O. Knit Postmaster.

¹ Gorman was then eleven years of age.

² The only published biography of Senator Gorman is John R. Lambert, Jr., *Arthur Pue Gorman*, Southern Biography Series. Baton Rouge, 1953.

1861 Oct. 23 Gnl. Hooker. Maryland side Potomac River opposite Confed Batty—Mathias Point Got a Pass. Visited him to Witness [attempt] of vessels to pass Cannon[adin]g

. . . up in Baloon to see Battle

1864 G. I Brown Sgt at Arms Personal frnd of Genl Grant—in-
vited to spend seval days with him at City Point on James River

Visit to Genl Butler Camp. Bumed Hudi [Bermuda Hundred] splendidly Entertained—Witnessed the Pickets in the [trees?] from top of an old hosp.

Saw Soldes Exc Tobacco & Papers. Went out over Tresl RR used for . . . Supplies for Mine oppos Petersburg. Was at table when Genl Grant Enterd at Lunch Genl Mead Butler General Rawlings and others of his staf

Genl Grant had his horses brought out for us to look at.

Jun 21

President Lincoln arrvd at City-Point on Boat with quite a party. Saw him on Bord as he grated Genl Grant Genl Rain [?] & other officers. We left shortly after his arrival. River full of *Iron Clads* and Transportes stopped at Fortress Monroe and then to Washington.

1864 July 11 & 12. Genl Early—Confed. forces appear before Washington. Abot the Date of Battle of Mocsy [Monocacy] All Gvt Employees were ord to organ in companies.

Senate offcers . . .

Presnt to that Date Genl. William Hechey the Chief Clerk of Senate and Commddg offcr of District Malitr. Had with great form—and . . . Summnd in his presen[ce] at Sec. Off. A. H. Ragan and myself and delvd to us Commissn as Lt. on his staf—but we were not called into activ service. The attact on Waghtn out the 7th St. Road was on July 11 & 12. The Compy of which I was Lt. assnd in the Senate wing of the capitol with bard doors & closed windows. We had a few old muskets and one or two Swds. All frightened and ready to surrender on first Demands. The young of us when we heard the sound of Enms' guns reachd the roof of the Senate Cham and could distinctly see the burstin of shlls. We were a happy lot when Early retreated. Thus Ending our brief Military Service the Compy was disbanded. And I have studiously avoided Ever making it known how great a part I had taken in the War of the Rebellion. But I had a desire to see with comparativ safety someth of the conditions in the West. My frnd Segt at Arms Brown secured from Mr. Lincoln a pass for me to go anywhere withn the lines of the Union Armes, [with] that I took the B & O Road in Sept 1864. accompd by Edwd L. Cushwa a Marylander and a subor[din-

ate] offcer of the senate. We went to Cincinnati then to Louisville whr we remnd a day or two and after being thourally Engrund [?] of We got transportatn on the L & Nas Rail Road to Nashville intendg to Stop at the Mammoth Cave Here we were informd that that was vry Risky owg to hostil fealng of the few Nativs roamg around.

The road was in risky conditi[on] the . . . wasnt made of Green saplins on steel sheats as Genl Rine ord oth[er] places the condition of Tunnels. Once fird on from Ambush. We finally reachd Nashville. Went to an old hotel I think The City and Early next day called on Andrew Johnson the Military Govr who Cushwa and I knew as Senator quite well. His surprise was great at seeing us but he was as gracious as it was possiable for him to be and he directed his subordinates to have us shown around the City and we visited the Points of interest where the fortificatns and Encampm were. There was a considble num[ber] of troops to guard the City & Country. Remand a few days but the change of water & Diate caused great trouble which resulted in quite an attact of Dissentry. Got from an old Physician who kept a Drug store a remdy, but only after we informed him we were Marylanders and not connected with the Army. Our Experiences on returng to Louisville was atndd with inconvennces & Risk. A small band of Raiders had passed along the Road and set fire to the wood lin[ing] of a tunnel and had tamprd with some of the bridges. We finly reachd Louisville sick and wore out. Then to St. Louis. Then to G. L. Brown's home at Alton, Ills. with whom we spent some days. His brother Capt. Brown having at Genl. Grants request constructed the flotilla to assist in oppening the Miss. Rivr. From these two we heard many of the Details of Gen Grant's life. When they were associated with him in the Army. Then to Chicago and finly to Maryland. It was a long time before I recovrd fully from the disease contracted on that trip, but the sights then I got of War and its destruction made me more of a peace Man than Evr. and yet gave me the Most Exalted Opin[ion] of the Power of the Government and the wonderful resources of The People.

Impressions of Genl Scott

Scott Guards. B. A. Jameson. Genl McClellan & Marcy of his staf. Pa A & 15th Organization.

Battle of Balls Bluf—Genl Stone.

Genl W A Gorman.

2d Battle of Manassas.

Committee on Conduct War insistant.

McClellan desirg to postpone.

3—On to the James.

Retrate. Genl Pope defeat.

Mob of Sold[iers] without Arms.

4. McClellan Restored to Comnd

On to Antietam.

5—Fitz Jr. Pater Conclman [?]

Rev[erdy] Johnson Concde [?]

Coped some papers with him and Conferces.

6—McClellan Broken.

II. MEMORANDUM ON THE DEFEAT OF 1897

In 1895 the Democratic party suffered a resounding political defeat in Maryland, the first since Arthur Pue Gorman and Isaac Freeman Rasin had taken over the controls of the state and city organizations, respectively, in the late 1870's. In 1897 this defeat was repeated, causing Gorman to lose his seat in the United States Senate. In the following memorandum Gorman attempts to explain his party's failure at the polls.

Washington Nov. - 4th 1897

This Memorandum—I make this day. While—Events are—fresh in my Memory.

First. it was my fixed determination in August-last—to withdraw from public life and the publication in the Baltimore Herald was substating a Correct Statement. I then went to Saratoga Springs. and drew up a formal announcement of the fact in a letter to Mury Vandiver¹ the Chair of Dem State Central Comimtte—and submitted the same to Thomas M. Lanahan—and I Freem Rasin² and informed John Walter Smith and Joshua W. Miles of the fact—These friends thought that such an announcement—would place in jepoday the success of the party—That it would demoralize the rank and file who had faith in me. And would be accepted as a proclamation that we would not succeed—and that. the Sun Paper and *News* and the Cleveland Mugwams³ of Baltimore would continue in Hostility to the party. They begged me to delay it. I did and then the Split at Ocean City of the Republicans. Numerous frnds insisted that I should permit matters to drift. I did

¹ Murray Vandiver.

² Isaac Freeman Rasin, the Baltimore party leader.

³ Cleveland "mugwumps"—the supporters of ex-President Grover Cleveland, with whom Gorman had broken.

so. In the meantime I paid no attention to the nominations to the Legislature but As a rule the people in the Countes—nominating their best men nearly evy one my frnds—indeed the feeling was so strong for me that the Regular democrats wouldnt think of any one else for the U S Senate.

2d. The Nominations in Baltimore for Mayor Legislature & City Offices were made late. Mr. I Freeman Rasin didnot desire to take any promnt part his Judgment was that the Mayor should be a new man (or not Latrobe)⁴ Mr. T M Lanahan and a large number of frnds favored Latrobe and finally induced Rasin to support—Latrobe—J. Frank Morrison J J Mahon John Quinn and others hostile to Rasin were united in his support.

Loyd Jackson—Arabr H Taylor and the Jackson Associates of Democratic Merchats.⁵ Then I learned a formidable movment for Henry Williams—Supported by over 400 of the best Merchants of the City and it was evident that the Democrates generally were for Williams Rasin was waited on by his ward leaders and merchants and as it was in accords with his Judgment he withdrew his support from Latrobe and supported Williams. This created violent feeling against him by Mr Lanahan and others going so far as to separate them from all intercourse. But Rasin acted as I know from the best political motives and in accord with his Judgment; personally he preferred Latrobe and politically he knew that Williams if elected would not have been his friend or have given him patronage, but he thought he could be Elected, and as his interest was in my success he supported him. In the mean time it developed that John J. Mahon M A Thomas John Waters W P Whyte Isador Raynor and others had quiatly made a combination to nominate Candidates for the Legislature in the 2d District of the City hostile to me. Rasin abandoned his non activity and went to the front to Nominate my frnds; this involved him in hot contest for May[or] Councilmen & all Else. Bitter ness followed and the Defeated faction filled the Sun & News with all sorts of storys and they began the War on him in the papers on the Hustings and from the pulpit. His power was magnified. All the Short Comigs of evry body for 20 years when we were in power were revived—& Enlagd upon. The old feelings against boss rule—More than revived. Not a single paper to Defend. Then the Sun and News opend its fight against me. The So Called Sound Mony Men with H A Parr reorganized to aid the Republicans. John K Cowan of

⁴ Ferdinand Claiborne Latrobe, seven times mayor of Baltimore.

⁵ Lloyd Jackson, Abraham H. Taylor, and the Jackson Association of Democratic Merchants.

the B & O Rod ⁶ was the real head and backbone of it—the Money power as well; he contracted to have his man Warfield ⁷ Post Master of the City to be retained in Consideration of his support. Cowan's action was in violation of his promise *not* to enter the fight; but he did.

Then we democrats organised to carry the State by present organisation M F Vandiver as Chairman of State Com H W Rush of City Committee attended to the Details in Baltimore. Rasin supervised from his office in the city. I took special charge of the counties from my house in Washington. With a few clerks but—the Most Valuable aid and ally was Richard Wrightman the Chief Editorial writer of the Washington Post; he wields the most facile pen and is the quickest to take a suggestion and put it in splendid shape that I have ever met; *he* revised the State platform [and?] my letter to E F Abell ⁸ of Oct 15th and to H A Parr of Nov. 1st 1897. The Organization was perfect in the Counties. I aimed to carry the Legislature without B City, but at the same time made a tremendous Effort to carry two Legislative Districts in Baltimore. Rasin felt confident he could carry the first and possibly the Second. We failed in Both, and I can now see that I should have centered all on the first what could have been carried; *but* my friends in Baltimore *were* more than niggardly in contributing the necessary funds for the Contest. Indeed I had to furnish more than half of all Expenditures in that City—together with all in the Counties. But locally the Counties or some of them did nobly in that regard. Many of my outside friends did well *but* I was greatly disappointed with many who I had a right to Expect to Assist. The fact is however they thought it was a forlorn hope, and men do not always remember past Services. So that I did not have Sufficient means to win—As I could have done if they had done their part. *The* loss of the Legislature however occurred in Montgomery Co. where we lost 3 Members of House of Delegates because of the question of Whiskey, and by the Sloth and inattention of our friends. Carroll Co.—lost one. I think by treachery of some in power Washington Co *One* but this was an accident. Harford one State Senator because a large number of regular Democrats would not vote for a man who had voted for Lowndes ⁹ for Governor in 1895. Talbot Co was lost which could have been saved with Sufficient funds—and two in Carolina same reason. But take it all in all the County people

⁶ John K. Cowan, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

⁷ S. Davies Warfield, retained in office by President McKinley.

⁸ Edwin F. Abell, publisher of the Baltimore *Sun*.

⁹ Lloyd Lowndes, Republican, elected governor in 1895.

responded nobly and I had no complaint—Nothing but grattitude for them.

The Conduct of the Campaign was as I Mapped it out. Little display, Organisation work mostly. I didnot make a speech only wrote the letter to Able—and Parr. The Able Letter I consider the best political move I have Ever made in the State. His paper by its Constant Statmnt that the party could succeed if I was Eliminated had made hundreds if not thousands belie[ve] that he Able and his paper were honest in their assertion and it was but natural that the ambitious and those who wanted the offices were most anxious for me to give them a Chance. In Other Words he had demoralised a Great Number of good Democrats. But when he declined to accept the offer, These same men shouted louder for me and Denounced the Sun more vigorously than any other. The result was our party was consolidated. New life was injected, particularly with the County districts, and as I have before intimated had I have Sufficient funds, I would have won. The night of the election it looked as if we had won but later returns show otherwise of course. My family and frnds were greatly disappointed. So far as I am Concernd, I have no regrets.

When in the Contest of course I fought hard planned well left nothing undone—that I could do. But, then long before the Contest I had fully determd that I was satisfied with my Experiences in public life, and desidrd to retire. Then Again I have Never felt Since 1895 that the Democrats could cary the State except under the most unusual and Extradnry Circumstances; this was Strengthened by the Events of 1896. So, that when the reverse came, which was forshadwed last night and Made certain today, I am as cool and Conteted as any man could be. That I would have been gratified to have succeed over the bitter and Malignat Enemes is of course true, but as we lost I am not worried in the least. I feel that I have done at least well while in public life. I Can I am Shure Enjoy whatever time I shall be permitted to live with greater independence and as much Comfort as heretofore. While not rich I can live Comfortably. I am Consious that I have the bitterest Enemys politicly, because of Disappointes of Some. Corporate interests are Malignant because I was Independent of them and did always what I believed to be the People's interest. Friends the best. A *Host* of them who believe in me never falter who in every Contest stand in the hottest fights, and battle as if ther vry Existace depended on it. To all of such I am bound by Hooks of Steel; they have never dec[eiv]ed nor I them. Now that powr and prestige is gone the impecunias the ambitious the vasalating will

naturally look else were; thats human, to be Expecd and No one should complain of it; but That Sturdy old guard who began with me in 1866 and the Sons of that Old Guard who have taken their fathers places—they stand as the hope of the party in the State; they will fight its battles and while they may utilise such men as Isador Raynor, W P Whyte, William Fisher, Frank Brown and other[s] of whom they are a represntv type who were honored by the party and yet stabd the old Mother in 1895 simply because they couldnot get more or greater honors, [t]hey will never forgive them or honor them. But, now the State is Republican; how or when it can be made democratic No—man can now see it, probably will be only when the Republican Excesses shall create a new revolution, but the Democratic party never dies cannot surrender as long as the Republic lasts. To the Cold [Colored] Men the intelligent Cold Men, I owe great support in the last Contest; they are beginng to vote as Men and not on acct of collor; it's a good beging they have made ; it will grow A large numbr of white republicn openly supported me. To them I think I owe the Majority in Prince George Co & Baltimore Co. Lead by John T Ensor Particulary in the Laurel District, they volunteerd to vote for me—from personal friendship and my kindness to them in the past. To my old and Native County Howard, its people had nevr failed me; in 1869 I was first a Candidte for the Legislature again in 1871,—for the State Senate in 1875 & 1879, Always a good Majority. So at this Election, I cannot Express my grattitud Faithful Faithful Always. My noble My first frnds May the good Lord Always bless you. You probly have had Sons with More ability to direct you but you havent had or will you evr have one who has ben truer to your interest, more anxius to promote your welfare—or advance its people in their person[al] affairs. The End comes to Everything. Politic[all]y mine is at hand; it has no bitterness I have no regreats I welcom it. As We do, a delightful Autumn day in Loyal Howard.

A P Gorman

Washington, D.C., Nov. 5th, 1897

Memorandum

On the Day of the Election Tuesday Nov 2^d I left Washington at 9:30 A M for Laurel and drove to the polls at Guilford. When I reaced there I found My Son—Arthur P Gorman Jr. and a number of my neighbors who greated me kindly. Arthur I had intrusted to supervise all the details for getting out a full vote

and to visit our friends in Clarksville district and make all the final arrangmnts. He did his part splendidly left nothing undone attended to Every thing with rare decision and Judgemnt; if he applies himself, he will make a leader of men and a capable organiser. He had for to assist him in the Sixth District My Old frend faithfull for so mny years Frank Shipley. Frank is quiate discreat, reliable, knows all the Voters and how to humor them, Altogether the most Valuable Man in the district. Then Hobbs James L My Manager he did good work with the Colored man untiring and Effective. Louis P Haslup C W. Haslup P C Gorman Page Cranometter Chas Carr John L Slater Wm Brozena Wm R. Moran Jr & his son Robert Jas. White. Hammond Dorsey Jr—Mr. John H Owngs the Candidate for Clerk and others—all these did their full part, and they carried the District or Legislative ticket by 86, an unusual majority.

In the first District B C Sunderland G Hanson A Hopkins Ed Jones and others had charge of Committee work; they did well but Joseph Isaacs and Silverzen had the doubtful Voters in Charge.

2^d of Ellicott City District My old frnds T H Hunt as usual overlo[oke]d the district Young Burt and the two Sons of J W Dorsey Young Scabbs and others did the active work. My frnd John G Rodgers the leader of the barr of Howard was bold active and Effective; these togethr with other frnds fought the fight in Ellicott City and did fairly well.

The Third District was in charge of Frank Parlett and John W. Reneham; there was real trouble in the District. Dr. Hebb behaved badly though my friend, but the "Selbys" Enoch and his Son J. W. Selby staunch republicans Supported me. The result was a surprise to me the District giving an unusual majority. I was born in that District at Woodstock.

The Fourth was managed by J. W. Warfield Edwin Warfield and S I Tracey. My old and true frnds they as always did the full duty Carrying it although it is A Republican.

Fifth District was well Managed in the End. Ferdinand C Poe—the Committee Man—did his best John T Hardy and G W Carr—who have been my warmest and most Successful Supporters for 27 years—bore the brunt of the Contest. Some of these individuals such as Coony, Miller and Republicans like Dorsey rendered good service and the result was a large increase in the Majority. Taken altogether the County Did Splandidly; it was lost in 94 95 & 96. The Vote shows the work, and the fondnss of the people for me. John Lee Carroll was for me in this fight.

On the night of the Election I was at my house 1432 K St, this

City with my Clerk, Mr. Rose and W. H May Sec in Baltimore to Telephone the returns—my old friends—the friends of My father Col James G Berret Now 82 years old splendid in appearance vigorous and as true and devoted to me as if I was his son. Came to the house Early and remained until after 12 o'clock. The returns then indicated that we had carried the Legislature. So he went home happy. Never doubting that I would succeed; he has so much faith in my ability to win I doubt if he will Ever think I was fairly defeated.

Such devotion Such frndship of so long standing makes one believe—that there is more genuine unselfish Love between men than mny imagine. The others at my house were My Daughter Daisy, now Mrs. R A Johnson whos husband was in Dorchester Co. looking after my interests My Daughter Bessie and her husband W. J. Lambert My friend James L. Norris the most active Energetice worker in the District his whole heart and time was devoted to me.

III. GORMAN JOURNAL

By 1902 the Democratic party had regained political power in Maryland and Gorman was re-elected to the U. S. Senate for a fourth term. As chairman of the Minority Conference, he sought to reinvigorate his party's leadership in Congress and to repair the ravages produced by the failure of William Jennings Bryan on two successive occasions, in 1896 and 1900, to lead the party to victory in a national election. From his office in Washington he also attempted to restore some degree of harmony and party discipline to the Democratic organization in Maryland.

On the congressional scene, Gorman tried, and failed, to give his party a rallying point on the issue of imperialism, which the Caribbean policies of Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt had injected into the arena of national politics. On the purely political scene, Gorman tried to promote a return to conservatism in the councils of the Democratic party. And in Maryland, his efforts were directed towards Negro disfranchisement and the punishment of Democratic defectors to Republican ranks.

In December 1903 Gorman started keeping a journal and for the next few months (until March 1904) made almost daily entries in it concerning the three main areas of concern

to him described above. The story that unfolds in all three areas is, unfortunately for Gorman, a story of failure. To make matters worse, he was affected with declining health in the spring of 1904—a deterioration that resulted in death on June 4, 1906.

The Extra Sesson. Election of Chairman. Caucus Comm. Speeches. A report of Committe of 9. Names. Called Commite Blackburn & Baily Tilman left Proxy. Caucus on Cuban Treaty. Resolved to Award it. Interview with President on it. Dinner at White House. Adjournment of Senate. Trip to England France & Return. Gubernatorial nomination. Spencer Jones, Smith, Vandiver & Rasin at Shoerham—To Nominate Warfield unanimously.

Election of Delegates to National Convention: Nomination of Arthur. Platform—Davis, Poe and Self. Caucus E Warfield and others. Meeting at Highland. Speech—Music—Hall Speech—Roosevelt. Action. Raynor & Suns Demand for Endorsement. Election.

Special Sesson of Congress: Organization. Caucus of Senators. Confirm with Williams of the House—& Carmack. Williams Speech—on Cuba. Agreement in Senate as to time of vote. President disturbed. Caucus on our action of Cuba Bill. Speedy interview with Lovell. Allowed B & O Meeting Washington Br Interview with Attorney Genl. & Jones & B Schley on—Constitutional Audit.

8th Dec.: Smith—Murray Vandiver of B & O. Speech on P. O. frauds. 9th: Warfield & H W Rush. J J Mahon Rasins Telegram. 10th: M Vandiver, visit on B & O. & Political Conference with Committee on Cuban Bill. E E Jacksons call at 8 P M.

Friday

Dec 11th

H. W. Rush and J J Mahon were here to Explain in regard to Committee acts to Raynor¹ and to say Rasin agreed to it and the Compact must be carried out—That Raynor gave 5000 to Campaign. They Professed to be all right on everything Else. Maj W H Thomas of Louisville Ky formerly of this City and at whos house on E St bet[ween] 2 & 3^d My father died came, took dinner with me talked over old times. He is an old Man who has met with Reverses but I was delighted to see him. During the Day John F. Coyle once a power with the Old Intelligence and in Andrew Johnsons administration begged 10 Dollars. I gave him five and Employed him to get at an article for me.

¹ Isidor Raynor, Baltimore Democrat whose election to U.S. Senate in 1904 Gorman tried, unsuccessfully, to prevent.

Saturday

Dec. 12th 1903

The Democratic Conference Was held at 10³⁰ A M to consider a resolution offered by Senator Berry, to amend the Cuban bill; ² it was strongly urged [by] this Senator and Senator Teller but was opposed by Baily Clay Blackburn and Gorman, who stated the only Effect would be to divide the party and accomplish no other result. He appealed to his Associates to unite pass a resolution where 2/3 of the Caucus so voted it should be binding on all matters of party interests. Blackburn offered such a resolution a Spirited Debate followed. Strong in favor of Blackburns proposition. The Conference—declined to authorise any amend[ment] to the Cuban bill; Senator Teller announced he would not allow another Caucus and would not be bound. We adjourned until Mond. 14 to Consider Blackburns resolution. Senator John Gill of Baltimore had a long talk with me about Maryland situation & Raynor. He feels bound to vote for him is all right on other Matters and will support Vandiver and Legislat[ure] for Constitutional Convention. Before leaving Committee rooms papers were placed in my hands in regard to transaction in P O. Dept. Miller of the Baltimore Sun came to me stating that Mr. Walter Abell wanted to see me; I named Tuesday at 2 Oclock. He wants to stop Suns attack on me. Senator McCarren came and had a long talk; he says there is So strong talk for Parker ³ in N York he thinks the State will be for him Agrees with me that Convention should be before Republican which is June 21st at Chicago. H G. Davis ⁴ came in while McCarren was here to talk over the Situation Political.

Sunday, Dec 13 —

Spent Day at Home. Robt Larnar Called. Mrs. Gorman returned from N York. H G. Davis came and talked over Political Matters. Said Mr. George Gold and F. G. Lansboru had decided to oppose re election of Roosevelt and would support me and Subs an 100 thousands, That he Col Lamn [Lamont?] and McLean would aid liberally. Said R Kearns told him the Meeting of Rep. Nat Committee was a funeral. Davis said W P White would like to be Sen-

² The Cuban Reciprocity treaty, granting Cuba a 20 per cent reduction of duties in return for Cuban reductions ranging from 20 to 40 per cent on U.S. goods.

³ Alton B. Parker of New York, Democratic candidate for President in 1904.

⁴ Henry Gassaway Davis, Gorman's cousin, Democratic candidate for Vice President in 1904.

ator. J K Jones Dem Nat Committee called and we talked over Political Situation. He is for Hirst,⁵ for President because Hirst had been kind to him. Agreed with me to have Early Convention, but thought N York would make the nomination but, he was for me, as he thought Hirst couldnt win.

December 14th, 1903

Would you be willing to have pending bill & canal treaty, exempted from this rule. [Appended Note] Blackburn handed me this in caucus. I answerd No. Sir. I think that is the one great measure we must defeat, or rather postpone until Dec 1904. Blackburn answer was—so say I

Talliufero says thinks the Legislature of Florida has instructed its Senators to vote for the *Nicaragua* route: Senator Morgan handed [this to me] in caucus.

Caucus of Senators at 10, on Blackburns resolution to bind all Senators on 2/3 vote in Congress. Long debate. Daniels, Tilman, Blackburn, Carmac, Stone, Morgan, Foster advocating resolution. Bacon, Cockrell, Berry, Malloy opposing it; finally vote was taken on postponing until tomorrow. Carried by vote of 16, 25 in Caucus. Senator Newlands offered resolution to reorganize Steering Committee: 5 South including Maryland 4 North. There are 6 Senators from the North—not considered but will be tomorrow.

Wacter⁶ called to see me, about Maryland Matters and to get an introduction to Senator Penrose. Talked with J R McLean on the Political Situation; says we will have solid Delagation from Ohio &c. W R. Hirst came promised me he would make his papers attack Post Office & other frauds and make it lively and would advocate conference Committees in House to confer with Senate. Didnot talk of his candidacy, was clever and very agreeable, offering to do anything I wanted in his papers talked of taking an interest in Baltimore paper.

J P Poe & Vandiver Dined with me. We have Engaged Poe to draft [a] Call of Constitutional Convention and Amendments and to reverse Election Laws & Registration on lines suggested. Vandiver reported Raynor told Board of Public Work he couldnot win suit against B & O for Dividends on Washington Branch. That they would sell stock above 2.⁵⁰ per share; thought bids must be asked

⁵ William Randolph Hearst.

⁶ Frank C. Wachter, Republican candidate for mayor of Baltimore, 1903.

by Advertisement. Will report again Thursday positive statement. So I may act as Director in B & O.

Tuesday, Dec. 15th 1903

The Democratic Caucus Met at 10. The Resolution of Senator Blackburn for 2/3 rule was debated until 12. M. The opposition resolved the case on an Amendment to Exclude the Cuban Treaty and Panama Treaty; it was voted down 11 to 16. And the Blackburn resolution past 23 to 2; Senator Cockrell not voting. The Debate was Spirited Baily Morgan Stone, for it; Cockrell, Foster, Mallory, and his Colleague, and others in opposition. A great deal of fealy [feeling] was Exhibited As it is the first time such a rule has been adopted. I hope it will be allayed and good fealy will preval. Senator Newlands then offered his resolution to reorganize the Caucus Committee, which goes over until tomorrow Wednesday and at that Meeting a resolution will be offered to oppose Cuban Treaty.

Tuesday Dec 15 1903

Mr. Miller the Correspondent of the Baltimore Sun brought Mr Walter Abell ⁷ to my Committee room at 2 P M by appointment—Miller left and we had a long talk over the Situation in Maryland, The attitude of the Sun on Raynor and Editorial on me. He is Extremely anxious about Raynors success. Thinks the people are with him. Intimated that Sun would support me for President,⁸ but final Expressed desire—for friendly action and Co operation. I told him Senatorship not in Contest: That Editorials were unjust and I resented the use of my name, That I would interfere if Harmonious action was threatened. Didnot want any special support for President. But wanted Sun to be a factor in Party. Complained of its Cours at Mayors Election and Governors. Discussed the amendment to constitution of State: ⁹ That we would carry it through as the people wanted. Mr Grasty of Maryland Record called.

⁷ Abell had just succeeded his father, Edwin F. Abell—one of Gorman's chief antagonists—as publisher of the Baltimore *Sun*.

⁸ Gorman had, since the Democratic National Convention in 1892, been frequently mentioned as a possible presidential candidate.

⁹ The reference is to what was to become the "Poe Amendment," a proposal to disenfranchise Maryland Negroes by means of a literary test and a "grandfather clause" which Gorman was having prepared but which was to be defeated by the voters in 1904.

Wednesday Dec 16th 1903

The Democratic Conference Met at 10. AM. The resolutions of Senator Newlands was considered for reorganization of Steering Committee, and Sundry propositions were made to amend by increasing the Committee to 11. I finally Stated that the Caucus could do as they desired but I considered the whole move a reflection on my action and it would be so regarded generally that the motion must be modified as I wouldnot select the new members the Caucus must do that, that I would gladly Surrender the place as Chairman but I couldnot Submit to continue with any Senators thinking I had been unfair to any Section.¹⁰ The Caucus declined to take any action after which Several Senators Stone Blackburn Carmac & others appealed to me to adjust it. I told them frankly, I couldnot recede. I would be glad to vacate, so the matter Ended. The Caucus decided to permit the Cuban bill to go through without Amendment being offered and Each Senator to vote as he desired. And then to unite on Demand for Panaman Treaty¹¹ to be made public and to insist on Post Office Investigation.

Sen Baily Spoke in Senate making a Extr[eme] speech, reciting that we had agreed to act as a Unit when 2/3 were agreed; he attacked Senators who had been voting with the Administration. And the way he stated it gave great offence to several Democrats, but he Concluded not to get at a controversy on our side; So I refrained from replying. 9 Democrats voted for the Cuban Treaty Bill 23 against One not recorded. We succeeded on motion of Bacon in having the Panama treaty made public and Carmac introduced Post Office Investigation Resolution, which went over. Talked with Mr [Thomas Fortune] Ryan of N York over the Phone about a Maryland Matter—Gas. W Sultzer of N York gave me an account of his talk with D B Hill it amounted to very little.

¹⁰ Gorman, upon his return to the Senate in 1903, was re-elected to his old post of chairman of the Democratic Conference Committee (or caucus). Party discipline was virtually non-existent, and he was struggling to restore it at the time these entries were made.

¹¹ President Theodore Roosevelt had in November, 1903, promoted a revolution in the Isthmus of Panama and had forthwith signed a treaty with the revolutionary government granting the U.S. rights to construct a Panamanian Canal. The ratification of this treaty Gorman sought to oppose for *political* reasons without opposing the Canal as such.

Thursday 17th Dec 1903

Senator Hoar of Mass Made a great Speech on the Panama Treaty situation and Demanded all the facts condemning in the most drastic way the action of the Administration on the facts presented. It created consternation on the republican side. He had the close attention of all Sides of the Chamber. When he finished I took the floor; it was 1:30 the lunch hour but no one left the Chamber. And, all my Democratic Colleagues showed by their Earnestness and applause that I had presented our side well. My speech had not been [p]repared and I used a few notes made at my desk while listening to Senator Hoar. Senator Foraker replied J. W. Miles came to see me to explain how he became a candidate for the Senate. And talked over the Situation. He is opposed to Both Smith and Raynor.

Friday 18th Dec 1903

Senator Daniels of Va Spoke today on the Panama Treaty. It was a fine Speech but not as full of fire and vim as was Expected; it didnot attract the attention of the Senate as did the Speeches of yesterday, which is in full in all the papers today, the Administration papers attacking viciously. Senator Hoar and Myself, Gov Smith Herring and Vandiver came and wanted to talk on the B & O case, Washington Branch Concluded to do nothing. Dr. Hill of Prince George's came tonight. He wants to be Speaker of H Dely [House of Delegates] is all right on Evything.

Saturday 19th Dec 1903

X Senator H. G. Davis Called at 9:30 to give me an account of his trip to N York. Harry saw Mr Whitney, Ryan, Lamont and Mr Pearce of Wabash. Says they are all most favorably disposed &c. Fred Talbott desired the Speakership for Dr. Everhart. Mr. Tibbett of B City called to say How much he could do in N York to controll Delegation. In the Senate Senator Peters made a speech on Panama. Henry Waterson and Sidney Webster wrote in regard to my Panama Speech. President Woodward of Hanover Bank N York says it is a good Dem Platform. Senator Newland talked about his resolution to increase Steering Committee. Bernard Carter came to talk over Maryland Matters: Constitutional Amendment & Consolidated &c & Personal matters H G Davis called again.

Sunday, Dec 20th 1903

John R. McLean Called and talked over the matter of Place of Meeting of Nat Dem Convention—and the time of meeting. It is a dreary day. So I remained in House with Arthur Mrs. Gorman Not being very well. Monday 21st. Was at my room Senate nearly all day. Mr. Babcock Member from Wisconsin called to express his warm personal friendship He is the Chairman of the Republican Cong Committee and desired to give me some suggestions as to Democratic Conditions in his State—and to aid me. He is of course a party man but would like to assist me in my party. We had a satisfactory talk about District Legislation. Fred Talbott called. B Carter told me over Phone to use his name as I desired to do in the event it was necessary.¹²

Tuesday 22nd December 1903

Took the 10. A M Train for Philadelphia and met Mr A J Cassatt [President of the Pennsylvania Railroad] in his office at Broad Street at 1 A M. I told him the whole story of President Loree of B & O bad conduct in Maryland. That he had surrendered to Vice President and Genl Counsel H L Bond all power in public matters, That Loree had violated his promises to me in 1901 When I was a candidate to keep neutral, That at the last moment he permitted Bond to place the whole power and money of the road against me, That after that he sent Bond to me and then to Gov Smith to offer aid and Support, That he violated the promise and spent 60 thousand to Elect Wachter Mayor, That in the last Election he instructed his people to try and Elect Williams for Governor, That he gave Jackson 15 thousand, Mudd and Macklin Each 10 thousand, That in Baltimore City he made a bargain with Democratic City Organisation to Nominate Grannan Sheriff and to Defeat Reps Delegation to Legislature as they were McComas Men, That his deception and participation in small matters was bring[ing] his road in disrepute, and that Loree was a non Entity in his hands, that it made his settlement of the Washington Branch matter impossible with them.¹³ Mr. Cassatt told me that the day before Loree was there and told him that in 15 days the Wash-

¹² Bernard Carter, a prominent Democratic lawyer in Baltimore whom Gorman attempted, unsuccessfully, to promote as a candidate for the U.S. Senate in 1904 in an effort to thwart the campaign of Isidor Raynor.

¹³ The State of Maryland had advanced money to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad when its branch between Baltimore and Washington was constructed and had obtained, thereby, a financial and administrative interest. The proposal to sell this branch set off the dispute described herein.

ington Branch Matter would be settled and at a price agreed on 200 per share of stock and that 425 thousand was the price agreed on for the stock, that he had written it down showing me the paper. I told him there was no truth in the statement that the Board was offered by John Donalson 219 per shr and wanted 250, That the law made it necessary for advertising 60 days &c, That the Canal couldnot be sold at this time by any public officer. Mr. Cassatt said it was most remarkable, That Loree told him he had had a most agreeable talk with me & told him of our talk and that it was the most plain and disagreeable one I have ever had with any R R President. His astonishment was great when I told him unless the conditions were changed I would be compelled to advertise this publicaly. He said it should all be changed in a few days. I spoke of Smith & Carter as regard to the Senate. He talked to me about V P Murray of B & O., and I left under the impression Murray would be promoted but he would communicate in a few days.

Reached 5th Av Hotel 5:30; at 8 called on T. F. Ryan 60 5th Av. Spent two and a half hours talking over the Political Situation and Presidential. He had seen Judge Parker who he likes and summed up the situation by saying he rather thought Parker would carry N York but, nothing Definate as Murphy of Tammany couldn't Commit himself beyond McClellan, That a Strong Movement was being made for [Former President Grover] Cleveland and of the Southern Men—combined to say they would go for any one N York wanted, Then N York would have the man. He Expressed himself as being for me but it was always with some reservation, as he wanted to be with the winner. At the same time he would help financially &c &c. He informed me of his Elec Light purchase in Baltimore and was willing for me to have an interest with him and Mr. Brady which I agreed to take. Arthur arrived at 5th Av Hotel at Breakfast time called on W W. Fuller [general counsel for the American Tobacco Co.] and had a long talk with him he seemed to be a good deal disturbed about the Political Situation. He thought the New York Politicians were for Parker and possibly for Cleveland; he thought Ryan and [William C.] Whitney and in fact all of them were simply looking at their own interest in N York and strongly advised against having the Convention there. He is my friend. Then we called on Col D S Lamont, and he gave me information about Hill D B thought he was against Parker and still had hopes of himself. Heard there was a strong movement for Cleveland by Quincy and Senator Smith and that same impression was made of J J Hill & that Ryan and Whitney

was content to go that way. Talked to him of Canal Treaty. He will look into it. Then went to Morton Trust had quite a chat with Mr. [Levi P.] Morton. He is affraid of Rosevelt. Thought there were a number of Democrats would could carry N York that I could. Talked with Ryan and made an arrangement to see Mr. Brady at my Hotel 9:30 Next day—on Balto Elec Light franchise; during the afternoon had some talk with George of the Balto American and at night went to Theater (New York) and there met C J Canda formerly the Treasurer of the Nat Dem Committee. He said he had voted against Mr. Cleveland going with a Caucus, but was certain Strong influences were for him that Mr C was terriably disappointed that McKelvy [St. Clair McKelway] of the Brooklyn Eagle had accepted his letter as a positive Declination and had put up Parker, that it looked to him as if N York would press his nomination.

Thursday 24th 1903

Had an Early Breakfast and Mr. Brady called at 9:30. I Explained to him the difficulty to get a new Charter by people of Baltimore for Electric Light Co. and that the offer was made to Miles & Gorman and to Rasin. He wanted it Stopped and would make arrangement. I then went to see W W Fuller and had a long talk with him and then with Ryan on Politicians and the Bussiness Matter. Then talked with Mr. Duke;¹⁴ he thought they wanted to nominate Cleveland, That he would not support him. Col. Payne was not in town. Came home on 3:25 train reached here about 9:20 and found Mrs. Gorman greatly improved. Arthur came with me he and Grace are to spend Xmas with us.

Friday Dec 25 1903

This is Xmas Day—a rainy disagreeable day; breakfast about 9¹⁵ and after looking at Sundry presents from Ada Arthur and Grace Daisy Bess. J R McLean James Young, & H G Davis called to learn all I knew. He and J R McLean had talked and as he is over anxious about my nomination, He thought our Convention should follow the Republican and to be held in N York—unless N should follow the Republican and to be held in N York—unless N York was against me. He repeated his talks with Whitney and Ryan &c. We Expect Haddie and her Husband to Dinner.

¹⁴ James B. Duke, founder of the American Tobacco Company, a corporation in which Gorman had a financial interest.

Saturday 26th Dec 1903

By Appointment—J. F C Talbott and Mr. Everhart of Balto Co. Talked over the Speakership; he wants it. He Stated Raynors agent Monmaneu had offered him and one other Member 1000 Each to reimburse them for political Expences. Rep. Babcock gave me a list of Democrats in Wisconsin. Willard Salisbury of Del called to discuss the Political Situation stated that Judge Grays friends were trying to Secure a Delagation for Delaware. Buchanan Schley called to discuss political Matters and the Western Maryland R R desire for Legislation at Annapolis to condemn [Chesapeake and Ohio] Canal property. Mr. Neal and Cassells of P A Rand called to discuss a bill I offered in Senate. The papers announced the Resignation of President Loree of B & O. H L Bond Telegraphed me for interview on Monday in Washington.

Sunday Dec 27 1903

I. F. Rasin Called and stayed until 4; he agreed on plans for organisation of Legislature & I think we can arrange satisfactorily all Matters. Talked with J R McLean on Political Situation. He says he will have Ohio. Mr. Neal of Ohio Spent an hour with me—and will aid in Ohio. R M Larnier made a call. Senator Culberson of Texas called to Discuss Panama Treaty. He will Stand firm. My Brother P C Gorman called and Lee Marriott and his family spent day.

Monday, 28 Dec 1903

Recd Letter from Gov [Elihu E.] Jackson in regard of purchase of Timber & Coal Land in Ala and Senatorship. President Loree of B & O Phoned and warned me of Meeting of Directors in N York; 2:30 tomorrow Tuesday. Judge McSherry and Spencer Jones came at 10:30; spent two hours on Constitution Amendment and Election laws. Very Satisfactory. Suggestions good. Will assist in working up Amendments on Suffrage and State Aid to roads. 3 o'clock Vandiver came and remd all night. We discussed Senatorial and the Legislative and organisation of Legislature. He now seas that [John Walter] Smith is in danger. J P Poe came at 6:30 with draft of Amendments and Election Laws; decided on numerous changes he will prepair and submit

Tuesday 29 Dec 1903

At 11:20 H L Bond Jr. of B & O called. The removal of President Loree and the Succession of Mr. Murray has made the most

wonderful change in Bonds attitude. Evidently Mr Cassatt had informed him of my talk. Bond Submitted the Statement of Washington Branch Road and then discussed his action Politically in Maryland. Said he wanted me to recommend some one who was satisfactory to take charge of Political Matters, said Dr. Shaw and Sam Turner had been suggested. I told him they wouldnot be satisfactory, That I would later on suggest a good man. He informed me that Rasin would take charge of the matters at Annapolis during the Sesson. He had to Explain his action in the last campaign. Admitted he had given largely to McSherry Election and the two Judges in Western Maryland Wachter and Rasin in Baltimore. He said they would do all right in the future, That I would have no cause to complain &c. We discussed sale of Washington Branch Stock and touched lightly on canal and West Md. Said they would fight the acquisition of Canal Lands.¹⁵ Was anxious about Constitution Convention. Said he was opposed to Raynor and would do all in his power to defeat him, that he was so unreliable that no one would trust him, That he would see Williams of Montgomery and Rodgers of Howard and J J Mahon and would be delighted to do anything I wanted. Frank Smith of St Marys Co came. Stated the opposition to Gov Smith in all Southern Maryland and in Baltimore City, That it came from all sources and feared if he was Elected he would loose the State P J Cambell came to get me to assure him the Pardon of a young man. He thought Raynor was loosing ground said I L Strouse was denouncing Raynor for his betrayal of the independents who Raynor had formed to Join against Democrats in last campaign. Called to see Senator Morgan to discuss Panama Situation. He is as firm and determined as ever to discuss fully and bring out all the facts. He and 8 of the Senators will dine with me Thursday to determin on our course.

Wednesday, Dec 30th 1903

Gov. Smith & Gov Jackson J W Miles J F C Talbott all Candidates for U S Senate together with S C Jones States Senators Bell Nelson of P G—A P Gorman Jr. Rasin Vandiver Vic Baughman—Carothers of Cecil—spent from 12 to 4 P M at Lunch. We discussed and agreed to Amendments to Constitution and Suffrage Registration and Road appropriation by State. New Election Law and then agreed on Speaker & President of Senate. Jones Senator Everhart of Balto. Co. Speaker, and an Early Caucus for all Mat-

¹⁵ The now-defunct Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, which Gorman had once headed.

ters, and on the Legislation to have Commission for Sewerage—for Baltimore, That no Legislation on Oyster Matter Save the appointment of Commision to draft a proper bill. Senatorial Matter not discussed save as to party caucus on same. Senator Morgan Called and spent an hour and half on Panama Canal. Wired congratulation to O G Murray New President B & O. Recd his reply. Talked with Gov Elect [Edwin] Warfield over Phone arranged to have him & others at Lunch Saturday 2^d Jan 1904

Thursday 31st Dec 1903

This is the last day of 1903. A year full of startling events. I took my seat at the Extra Session of this Senate called to ratify the Cuban Treaty. Was unanimously selected by my party to preside over Caucus. Made a trip to Europe with Mrs. Gorman and Daughter Mary. Visited Haddie ¹⁶ in London made her home our Head Quarters. Campaign in Maryland a Notabl one made two speaches one in Howard and at Music Hall Baltimore. Arthur [Gorman, Jr.] Elected to State Senate. Great Victory in State 2/3 Legislature and Warfield for Governor. 2 Ex[tra] Sessions of Congress. Nov 9th Action of President on Panama Canal. Senator Hoar Speech and Mine. Today Thursday Dinner at my house 1432 K. Senators Blackburn Daniel Morgan—Pittis Stone Baily Culbertson & Senators Butler of S Carolina and H G Davis of W V, Full discussion of President on Panama Treaty Delegation to discuss it fully and Expose its defects and try and unite the most of our people.

Friday Jan 1st 1904

Spent all morning at post in my Office fixing up accounts and finding the year has been reasonably prosperous—financially. In the afternoon Mrs. Gorman and I called on Bess and Madie it being a delightful day like Early Spring. The night we had Arthur Grace and Richard Johnson & Daisy with us.

Saturday 2 Jan 1904

Spent the morning at Home and at 2 P M. Edwin Warfield Attny Genl Bryan, Murray Vandiver John P Poe Buchanan Schly and State Senators John Gill Jr T H Robinson James Young Spencer Jones Wilson of P George and A P Gorman Jr, took Lunch with me they remained with me until 8 P M. We discussed the Sufferage Amendment and Road Amendment to Constitution and the

¹⁶ Gorman's daughter, Mrs. Stephen Gambrill.

Election Laws fully. Warfield and Bryan were impracticable and rather inclined to be troublesome, Insisting on putting in the Property qualification—which I told them would defeat us at the polls. All but they agreed with me, and all finally agreed against the Constitutional Convention. But Warfield insisted as Did John Gill against concurring on these party matters on the Election Law. Bryan Gill and Warfield insisted on their Mugwump ideas so we passed that branch over for further consideration. The Senatorship was not considered. We parted but Warfield and Bryan are so elated that it looks as if they would be troublesome. But the party will move on.

Sunday Jan 3 1904

Murray Vandiver remained with me all night and after Breakfast Rasin came and we discussed thourally the organisation and both Branches of the Legislature and all the polical Legislation agreeing to move on and have the first caucus Tuesday, 12th for Treasur & Constitution Amndt and on the 14th Caucus for U S Senator. We canvassed the vote for Senator and found that Raynor would probably lead Smith and we couldnot make Smith win by any count. So, it may be we will have to take a compromise man. Still we agreed to Defeat Raynor if possible.¹⁷ Rasin will go to Annapolis and He and Vandiver will take general charge of party matters.

Monday Jan 4th 1904

The Congress reassembled at 12 today. Presidents Message on Panama read. Defence of his action declares that he had not Encouraged Revolution. McComas¹⁸ made a speech in defence of President—delivered to empty benches. Entertained at dinner Senators Greenhill Lewis Brewington and Perkins Representatives Linthicum Everhart Johnston Hill and Ray. Discussed Legislative Matters all were in good frame of mind and in favor of Constitutional Amendments and generally were in good trim. Sun had 2 Editorial

¹⁷ As the reader can easily infer, Gorman and the key members of his state Democratic organization were engaged in a somewhat frantic effort to forestall the senatorial election of Isidor Raynor. Raynor had achieved considerable popularity by defending the Maryland-born Spanish American war hero, Rear Admiral Winfield Scott Schley, before a recent court of inquiry, and he was determined to force his way into the U.S. Senate in defiance of the party machine. To do this he appealed directly to the voters hoping to break Gorman's power in the Legislature. Gorman's personal attitude toward Raynor can be summarized in a comment attributed to him: "the most consummate wind-bag Maryland has ever produced."

¹⁸ The other Maryland Senator, a Republican, whose successor was to be chosen when the Maryland Legislature met.

one saying that the Defeat of Raynor ment loss of State. the 2^d on Smith—

Tuesday Jan 5 1904

Gov. Smith came at 9:30 A M. Talked over the Situation in the State Seams to think he can win if he can get Jackson County ¹⁹ and wants to arrange with X Governor to go to Congress. Left a copy of his Message with me. Senator Lodge Spoke on the Treaty in defence of the President. It was a labored Speech, but he Concluded by making a violent attack on the Democratic Party and on Mr. Cleveland and Olney of Mass. whos Speech at N York yesterday was published in the Morning Papers of today. Miller of the Balto Sun called this P M. I Offered Resolution asking the President for further information regard to Panama.

Wednesday, Jan 6 1904

The Debate in Senate on resolution to investigate Post Office Frauds took a wide range. Carmack Clay Teller Spooner Lodge & Gorman participated: See Cong. Records. A M Bradly Sec of Anti Imperial League of Boston who represents X Sec Boutwell Called to discuss the Treaty pending. During the Evening B Schly Called to talk over affairs at Annapolis. Judge C L. Bartlett of 6 Dis Georgia Called to discuss Treaty and made suggestion to introduce Resolution Calling on President to Execute the Spooner act and proceed to construct Nicaragua Canal. Legislature organized and so far all goes along well. Atty Genl Bryan writes a Savage Letter against Poe and the Constitutional Amendment we prepared.

Thursday Jan 7 1904

Senator Morgan Made a Speech on the Panama Treaty it was a powerfull argument. The Democrats from the South seem to be terriably demoralised and it was reported that the Mississippi Legislature had instructed Miss Senators to vote for it—I think it doubtfull—if they can be held in line and It Seams to me we are abandoning the one great issue which we could go to the Country on. X Senator Lowe and I had a talk on it and he agrees with me. Senator Greenwell of St Marys Co. Called to get an account of Annapolis affairs. Senator Baseman came at night. Thinks he can Support Smith ²⁰ but advises a new Man; thinks 2 of his Delegates will be for Raynor but could take them all to Bernard Carter Says Frank Brown so thinks and told Walter Able.

¹⁹ Ex-Governor Elihu E. Jackson, Democratic leader in Wicomico County.

²⁰ John Walter Smith, elected Governor in 1899, and an aspirant in 1904 for the U.S. Senate.

Saturday 9th Jan 1904

I left Washington at 9 for Baltimore to attend the funeral of my old friend John E. Hurst, and to act as Honorary Pall Bearer. I met at his late Home his Sons—and distressed family. Mr H was the Most prominent man in Business in the City and always a warm friend of mine. I rode in a Carriage with Judge H D Harland J A Gary and W T Dixon—All warm friends of Mr H. At Renerts Hotēl saw Rasin, Vandiver X Gov Jackson Gov Smith the later who was persistent on my going to Annapolis. The Speaker Everhart and Fred Talbot called. Talked to Bernard Carter on Constitutional Amendments. Came over from Baltimore with Mrs. Gorman & Daisy. Spencer Jones came at 7 to talk on Committees and the Senatorship. He thinks we cannot Elect Smith must get a new man.

Sunday 10th Jan 1904

John R McLean and H G Davis called at 10 to Discuss the time and place of holding Nat Convention. We agreed to Support N York and Convention after the Republicans. [William Jennings] Bryan returned from England has interview in papers. Wants the Convention West same platform as 4 years ago. Recd letter from J W Miles Saying Smith's Election would ruin party of course wants it himself; replied that his course on caucus would result in all of them being defeated. Took a walk with Arthur and met X Senator Carter of Montana Rev. Dr. Hale Chaplain of the Senate and his Son Arthur Hale of B & O came to see me. Had a pleasant chat.

Sunday Jan 10 1904

Robert Larner an Son Gorman Larner Called to chat, and informed me of Grid Iron And Dinner on 30 with President Cabinet and X Sen Hill of N York to be guests. J L Norris called to talk on his case as Member of Nat Committe. Drew up resolutions for Democratic Caucus at Annapolis and Spent Evening with family. P S—Mr Thomas Taggard of Indiana, Member of Nat Comm of Democ W H O'Brien Chairman of Indiana Dem Committe & Joseph T Fanning called to discuss place and time of Meeting of National Convention. They think their State can be carried; rather favor N York as place and time after Republican

Monday, Jan 11th 1903

The Senate confirmed Mr. Buchanan the Minister to Panama—Thus recognizing the New republic. All Democrats save Clark of

Ark voting against it. Vandiver and Speaker Everhart came to arrange Resolution for Caucus at Annapolis tomorrow night, on the Ammendments to Constitution and for the Committees in Senate and House to consider the same and Comittee on Claims in House of Delegates. L V Baughman came; he was most anxious about Gov Smiths Election which is in doubt. Mr. Clayton of Ala & Senator Simmons discussed place of holding Convention both are for N York. The Members of Nat Dem Committee are assembling Senator McCarren of N York Called; quite a Number will call at my house this P M. During the Evening Guffey of Pa McGraw of West Va Kenna of Del Hopkins and Shaw of Ill, Lamb & Shively of Ind Called.

Tuesday Jan 12 1904

Bernard Carter came at 9 A M from Baltimore to confer in regard to Constitutional Amendments, Insisting on further consideration and property qualification and omitting the understanding clause. Intimates it would create friction with Warfield &c. At 10 Lt Gov Shehan [of New York] called and as he represents Judge Parker, wanted to arrange an interview between us at some early date. I told him it was not necessary or wise that like Judge P. I was not making a canvas for the place ²¹ and that it would require all of our Strength to repress the Wild People, so we could move along our lines, and later on in what could be done. Senator Lewis of Allegany Co. came; he said he would vote for Mullin and then for Smith but liked Raynor. The National Committee met and the principle Contest was over the District Member; the Committee was against Sefton Jones Appointmt and finally the whole matter was referd to a Special Committee. Jones and the Bryan [supporters] were aggressive and wanted Convention at Chicago. N York People were not very anxious for that City. It will go to St. Louis I think. Senator McCarren told me that Murphy was for [ex-President] Cleveland but that N York would be for Parker. Mr [Edward] Murphy [Jr] McCarren & Mack of N York called at 8. Murphy was retticent but all his talk was in the Direction of Cleveland, Still leaving himself in position to do anything. They are opposed to Hurst [William Randolph Hearst]. So Supported St Louis as place of Meeting which was carried Buch Schley came and discussed his Senator ship. He goes to Annapolis and will tell Smith of the Danger. He thinks with me it will take some man like B Carter to Defeat Raynor. The Caucus at Annapolis passed resolutions I sent them and nominated Vandiver for Treasurer.

²¹ That is, the presidential nomination.

Wednesday, Jan 13th 1904

Was at Senate during this morning. Met quite a number of the Delegates and others who attended the Nat Committee. The papers made me responsible for the selection of St Louis. W J Bryan was here but I did not see him. Spent an hour with Gov Jackson on Political Matters and then 2 Hours with him and Mr Spencer President Southern R R on the purchase of Timber and coal lands in Tennessee. Mr. Jacobs Delegate from Oclahoma spent an hour with me; told of Bryans opposition to me. Tom Robinson Senator from Howard spent two hours; told me of Opposition to Smith in Howard Co Was for Carter. Carmac of Tenn made a great speech.

Thursday Jan 14th 1904

Doug Thomas Andrew Jones—F. A Furst Loyd Jackson—Collman and Mr Webb came to protest against Raynor and for Smith. F. Furst told me [Governor] Warfield had refused him the only request he had made for one of his Staf for a friend. He is very angry after all he did informed me Warfield was against Smith. It is another case of rank ingrattitude. Senator Lewis told me he and Davis of Allegany was for Mullin and they would support Raynor. Bankhead of Ala talked over the Situation Politically Senator Morgan of Ala is getting ready to support the Treaty I protested in writing.

Friday 15th Jan 1904

Senator Teller made a Speech on Panama. I amended my Resolution of Inquiry, so as to get all of the information as to use of Troops in Panama, Striking out work "intervention." In that form Spooner agreed to it so did Cullom. Gov Smith Baughman, S Jones B Schley and Vandiver took dinner with me and remained until 9:30 The Situation as to Senate was gone over. The difficulty in getting Signers to Caucus call was great and the Demand for open vote seems to be Irestiable and will be carried. Senator Gadd of A A told me his County would vote for it and must leave Smith. Montgomery County is in same condition. So is Carroll and it looks as if Smith was beaten. But Smith is still so Confident that he cannot see the Situation nor are his friends frank with him save Baughman. He insisted that I go to Annapolis but I positively refused to do that. They left here in anything but a hopeful frame of Mind. I will have Jackson Miles and Talbott here to day with the hope that we can make him understand and select some one on whom our forces can unite. Otherwise Raynor will win.

Saturday Jan 16th 1904

Today, Spencer Jones, I F Rasin J F C Talbott XGov E E Jackson Joshua W. Miles came with Arthur [Gorman Jr] to talk over the Senatorial Situation. They were all averse to Raynor, but all agreed Smith could not possibly be Elected nor would Jackson and Miles under any circumstances vote for him or for a ballot in Caucus, unless he was Eliminated. We are finally agreed to take up Bernard Carter and Support him and do it on ballot in Caucus—Jones to Nominate him Jackson Miles and Talbott Each to get one of their supporters to second the nomination. Talked over the Phone with Carter who agreed to say to papers that he would accept. Talked with Senator Robinson at Belair who was delighted with the Arrangement and said all of his delegation possibly some one would vote for Carter. It was a remarkable conference and on the whole was more agreeable than I had hoped for—Fred Talbott specially behaving well.

For Ballot

Raynor on Open Ballot

Smith

Carter

D

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B Co.—	3	=
Harford	3	=
Carroll	2	1 =
Wash	1	
Alley	2	—
Monty —	3	1 =
Howard	1	
P Gr	1	1
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Anne	1	
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2 Carolina	2 —
3 Talbot	3 —
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The above figures were made at
conference Jan 16th 1904

Sunday 17th Jan 1904

The Morning Baltimore Sun came with a full account of the Meeting at my house yesterday which was Evidently given by Gov Jackson or Rasin. I talked with Rason over the Phone and he admitted that reporters run him down Saturday night and in his Excitement I think he gave it all away; the Sun was very hostile to Carter. I talked to Carter and He seems anxious about his case. Spencer Jones Came and compleated his Committees and still says it will be impossible to Elect Smith. Smith and his partner Francis Waters came at 7 P M and both were in a very aggressive mode demanding that I go to Annapolis which I declined to do. Smith says Jackson and Rasin told him of the suggestion of Carter and announced in the most positive way that he would remain in the field and that Maus told him today that Anne Arundle County would vote for Raynor as soon as he Smith was out of it. So the situation is more than muddled and Smith's failure will result in having him to fight hereafter.

Monday, Jan 18th 1904

Senator Nelson of P George Delegate Hill C C Crothers B Schly, J K George and Mr. Harington of Talbott called to discuss the Senatorial Matter. Gov. Smith telegraphed and talked over the Phone that he had arranged with Jackson—and Jackson wrote that he had agreed with Smith to vote for each other. The Caucus was held at 8 P M at Annapolis, Smith Raynor and Jackson forces united and adjourned without taking a vote 35 to 50. So they go into open vote in House & Senate tomorrow. I ordered our people to Scatter tomorrow and not show their hands. Arthur told me Smith was complaining bitterly of me, and I suppose there will be a good deal of fealing. I made a short speech in Senate to day on Post Office Investigation.

Tuesday 19th Jan 1904

A Busy Day—Democratic Caucus to Consider the Panama Situation. Decided after long discussion to appoint a Committee of 3 to Consider what we should do. I appointed Cockrell Carmack and Culberson—with myself. Arthur came from Annapolis to give account of proceedings Gen Miles called to discuss general affairs. Alonzo Miles came to ask aid for his brother.

(To be Continued)

JONATHAN BOUCHER: THE MIND OF AN AMERICAN LOYALIST

By PHILIP EVANSON

Among the faithless faithful only they
Among innumerable false unmoved,
Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified,
Their *loyalty* they kept, their love, their zeal;
Nor number, nor example with them wrought
To swerve from truth, or change their constant mind.¹

JONATHAN BOUCHER was a Loyalist, but he was also a human being. He cheerfully admitted his shortcomings: "It is . . . an undoubted fact that both young and old I was naturally lazy and hated work."² Unlike Franklin, who assiduously sought self-improvement, Boucher aimed for the time when neither cares nor wants nor striving for self-improvement would disturb his peace of mind. As a growing boy he saw "something that looked like genteel life" and it inspired him with "some taste and longing for it." At age thirty-five he could write from Maryland to his closest friend, "I am looking round me for a plantation which when I have purchased . . . I flatter myself I may quietly repose . . . for the remainder of my life . . . blessed with . . . ease, competence and independence."⁴ He might inveigh against sloth and idleness from his pulpit, but colonial libertinism, which

¹ Jonathan Boucher's tribute to the Loyalists, based upon Milton's *Paradise Lost*, V, 897-902. Quoted in Leonard W. Labaree, "The Nature of American Loyalism," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 59 (April 19, 1944), 20.

² Jonathan Boucher, *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist, 1738-1789*, ed. Jonathan Bouchier (New York, 1925), p. 10. Hereinafter this book will be referred to as *Reminiscences*.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁴ Jonathan Boucher to Reverend Mr. James, July 10, 1772, "Letters of Jonathan Boucher," *Md. Hist. Mag.* VIII (June, 1913), 181. Hereinafter this correspondence will be referred to as Boucher to James or Boucher to Knox.

he called "the reigning topic," on more than one occasion tempted him.

While Boucher never concealed his pursuit of ease, he always extolled the virtue and necessity of courage and principles. He recognized his principles were unpopular with the bulk of his colonial parishioners, but "having . . . gone over . . . the ground I have taken . . . with great care," Boucher felt that he should not easily be driven from it.⁶ Neither the hostile threats of enemies nor the earnest appeals of friends prevented him from fulfilling what he felt to be his duty. In his sermons he never hesitated to answer his antagonists, and while always trusting in God's strength, he nevertheless preached "for more than six months . . . with a pair of loaded pistols lying on the cushion; having given notice that if any man, or body of men, could be . . . so lost to all sense . . . as . . . to do what had been . . . threatened, I should think myself justified . . . in repelling violence by violence."⁷ When a "stoutish neighbor" of patriot mind determined to provoke a trial of strength with him, the good parson, though "utterly unused to boxing," determined to have the first blow, and "this lucky blow," as he called it, not only took more than the measure of his opponent but raised Boucher's credit throughout the community.⁸ Though at times in mortal peril, it appears that Boucher relished these confrontations, and found their retelling exhilarating. When a group of patriots toasted the rebel cause, "May the Americans all hang together in accord and concord," Boucher replied, "In any cord . . . so it be but a strong cord."⁹ This comment earned for Boucher threats of pummeling, and on the whole we may say that the Tory parson, whether in his pulpit or at informal gatherings, rarely opened his mouth without raising patriot tempers.

Vernon Louis Parrington apostrophized Jonathan Boucher as "an extreme Tory."¹⁰ Before determining what this means,

⁵ Boucher to James, August 19, 1759, VII (March, 1912), 11.

⁶ Jonathan Boucher, *A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution* (London, 1797), p. 504. Hereinafter as *Causes and Consequences*.

⁷ Boucher, *Reminiscences*, p. 113.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

¹⁰ Vernon Louis Parrington, *The Colonial Mind, I, Main Currents in American Thought* (New York, 1954), xix.

it will be useful to look into the background of our subject's life. Boucher was born March 1, 1738, in the village of Blencogo in northern England.¹¹ He was raised in this humble hamlet, and in his own words, "I have nowhere ever seen so thoroughly obscure and unpolished a village."¹² According to the editor of his autobiography, the Boucher family claimed Norman origin, but the landed estates which it once held had been greatly reduced during the English civil war, and Boucher's early years were a "continuous struggle with poverty."¹³ Boucher states that during the civil war the head of his family sided with Parliamentary forces "and lost, as he deserved to do, a large part of his estate by it."¹⁴ His father, James Boucher, had Jonathan by a second marriage, and between running an ale house and teaching school he and his family managed to survive and keep what remained of their debt-encumbered estate.¹⁵

Young Jonathan learned to read and write before he began attending school. He tells us that when at age six he began going to school he could read and spell almost as well as he could at the time of writing his memoirs.¹⁶ As a youth he carted coals, turf and peat, and during haying time and harvest seasons, he "drove the plow and wrought without intermission."¹⁷ These experiences encouraged Boucher to seek better things, and at age sixteen he began to teach. In 1756 he sought employment as an usher at the school in St. Bees under the Reverend Mr. James. This cleric-schoolmaster became Boucher's patron, and although their initial interview resulted in James pronouncing that he was "shocked to see how miserably I [Boucher] had been educated," the good reverend set to work to mend his usher's deficiencies, and their relationship proved to both a decided success.¹⁸

A generous inducement and the promptings of James persuaded Boucher to go to Port Royal, Virginia, as a tutor in 1759.¹⁹ His initial comments on colonial Virginia were mixed.

¹¹ Boucher, *Reminiscences*, pp. 5, 15. Neither Boucher nor his editor are certain whether he was born in 1737 or 1738.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹³ *Ibid.*, viii.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

¹⁹ *DAB*, II, 474.

Nature it appeared had been generous to the colony: "The country here . . . is most invitingly delightful. Plenty & abundance are nowhere wanting; and . . . ye inhabitants with satisfaction and pleasure enjoy them."²⁰ But the colonial inhabitants were less pleasing: "There Manners and Conversation are in almost every Thing ye very opposite of my Taste."²¹ Though hospitable and generous to an unusual degree, the colonists were crude. Boucher found almost intolerable, "their forward obtrusion w^c subjects you to hear obscene Conceits and broad Expression; & from this there are times wⁿ no sex, no Rank, no conduct can exempt you."²²

In 1762, the rectory in Hanover Parish become vacant, and to Boucher's surprise, the vacancy was offered to him. He sailed to England to take orders and then returned to Virginia to begin his prominent and stormy career as a minister of the Church of England. Boucher's advancement within the Anglican church was steady; he succeeded to better parishes until in November, 1771, he was appointed by Governor Robert Eden to the lucrative and prestigious Queen Anne's parish at Annapolis.²³ It was here that Boucher remained until his return to England in 1775. This posion made him *ex-officio* chaplain of the Maryland Assembly, and thenceforth politics and religion would for the parson be inextricably interwoven.

Boucher recalled that the "management of the Assembly was left very much to me." Furthermore, "All the Governor's speeches, messages, etc., and also some pretty important and lengthy papers from the Council were of my drawing up."²⁴ According to John C. Miller, the Stamp Act marks the point after which there was no middle course for a colonial governor.²⁵ Boucher's close association with the royal governor during the early seventies made him a marked man, and rendered his position as a minister of God worthless to those of patriot sympathies. Boucher himself did not seem to realize that his political prowess was compromising his ecclesiastical efficacy.

²⁰ Boucher to James, August 7, 1759, VII (March, 1912) p. 4.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²³ Commission Book 82, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXVII (March, 1932), 31.

²⁴ Boucher, *Reminiscences*, p. 92.

²⁵ John C. Miller, *Sam Adams, Pioneer in Propaganda* (Stanford, 1936), p. 171.

He was surprised to find that his Assembly role caused his parishioners to regard him as "an obnoxious person," since he was advancing in the Assembly only those views which he believed "to be for the true interest of the country."²⁶

Boucher would not always have been considered "an obnoxious person." Like nearly every other colonist, he at one time was in opposition to British decrees. At the time of the Stamp Act controversy he wrote to his friend James,

You cannot conceive w't a sad Situation We are in, occassioned by this terrible Stamp Act. The Troubles & Alarms in England in 1745 hardly exceed what is now to be seen or heard of, every Day all over North America The Act . . . is, in every Sense, oppressive, impolitic & illegal The poor Americans . . . are truly to be pitied: their best and dearest Rights, w'c, ever like Britons They are anxiously jealous of, have been mercilessly invaded by Parliament, who till now never pretended to any such Privileges; & who, even supposing They had a Right to impose on us . . . an internal Tax, are as ignorant of ye means of doing it . . . as They w'd be to prescribe an Assessment for ye inhabitants of Kamschatka.²⁷

England was criticized for failing to acquaint herself with the needs and conditions of the colonies:

You will hardly believe how . . . ignorant They [the British government] are of ye present State of ye Colonies. Nobody of Consequence comes amongst us to get any personal Informat'n of our affairs, & Those Entrusted to communicate such intelligence are themselves either too ignorant or too knavish to give any to be depended upon.²⁸

Four years later colonial opposition to the Townshend Acts was praised in even more glowing terms: ". . . I do think the American Opposit'n the most warrantable, generous, & manly that History can produce."²⁹ Here surely are words that would have pleased Sam Adams and the Sons of Liberty. Yet, in spite of these sentiments, Boucher became a Tory stalwart, and one of the strongest supporters of harsh repression in the colonies. In order to understand this change of mind it is necessary to

²⁶ Boucher, *Reminiscences*, p. 93.

²⁷ Boucher to James, December 9, 1765, VII (September, 1912), p. 295.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

²⁹ Boucher to James, July 25, 1769, VIII (March, 1913), p. 45.

consider Loyalism in general and Jonathan Boucher's beliefs in particular.

Although it is dangerous to classify human beings, one commentator braves these perils in drawing up seven classifications of Loyalists: (1) office holding Tories, whose incomes depended upon the existing regime, (2) persons whose friends were among the official class, (3) conservative people of all classes, (4) the dynastic Tory, the King-Worshipper, (5) legality Tories who believed the British Constitution gave Parliament the right to tax, (6) religious Tories with their motto, "fear God and honor the King," and finally (7) factional Tories whose action was determined by family feuds and old political animosities.³⁰ Boucher can very nicely be placed in five of these categories. Although not dependent upon the crown for his income, Boucher, as an Anglican minister, was bound by oaths of allegiance and obedience to the King. These oaths were reinforced by his natural sympathy for monarchy as well as his understandings of Holy Writ. Most of his friends were among the official or Tory class, this being increasingly true in his final years in America. Finally Boucher was deeply conservative, distrusting republicanism and regarding democracy as little more than anarchy. His history books, his favorite philosophers and his Bible told Boucher that a society without a king was like a mollusk without a shell. In the long run neither a republic nor a democracy could survive, yet alone meet Boucher's supreme test of good government, "that the people living under it enjoy peace and quietness."³¹

Boucher's natural conservatism was reinforced and clarified by his study of philosophy. He knew Locke and Hobbes, but he chose for his mentor the seventeenth century monarchist, Sir Robert Filmer. Filmer's most important work, *Patriarcha*,

³⁰ Claude Halstead Van Tyne, *The Loyalists in the American Revolution* (New York, 1902), pp. 25-26.

³¹ Boucher, *Causes and Consequences*, p. 181. The nature of the eighteenth century conservative mind can hardly be stressed too much. This conservatism, more than any other factor, was the common denominator which characterized nearly all the Loyalists. Leonard Labaree comments, "A lowly tenant farmer of New York colony, or an insignificant shopkeeper of a north Carolina village could be just as faithful to the crown as the Reverent Jonathan Boucher of Maryland, or His Excellency Governor Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts. Loyalism was not only a consequence of social or economic position; it was quite as much the result of an attitude of mind" (Labaree, *op. cit.*, p. 36).

was a fit complement for the Bible and therefore for parson Boucher. The thesis of *Patriarcha* is simple. God created Adam, the first man and the first patriarch. From Adam's body he made Eve, the companion of Adam and the mother of all mankind. But she is inferior to Adam as he is inferior to God; woman being derived from man is always inferior to him.³² Adam receives the earth as his domain, and his first son, by virtue of being first, inherits that domain from his father. Thus, primogeniture is established in the first family of man. This first family is also the first society and its practices reflect the natural laws for all society, then, now and hereafter. As we have seen, they include the primacy of the patriarch, the superior rights of the first born, and the inferior status of woman. It therefore follows that paternal and absolute monarchy, private property, and obligations rather than freedoms are the essence of natural law and political societies. Any other systems are both unnatural and ungodly and these political aberrations carry within themselves the seed of chaos. *Patriarcha* presumes that society from its beginning followed unconsciously practices ordained by God.³³ These deductions followed flawlessly from Genesis. As such, they were based upon a myth which was nevertheless no more unreasonable than John Locke's phantasmal contrivance, the social contract. Boucher saw through the Lockean illusion. For him, the natural rights school of thought deduced society from,

some imaginary compact. They suppose that in some . . . fabulous age of gold, a multitude of human beings, who, like their brother beasts, had hitherto ranged the forests, without guide, overseer, or ruler—at length convinced, by experience, of the impossibility of living either alone with any degree of comfort or security, or together in society, with peace, without government—had . . . met together in a spacious plain, for the express purpose of framing a government.³⁴

³² Sir Robert Filmer, monarchist, can agree with John Milton, Puritan and Republican, on the status of woman, for Milton, who also discusses our first family, wrote in *Paradise Lost*, "He for God, She for God in him."

³³ For a more thorough exposition of Filmer's political thought see Peter Laslett's introductory commentary in his edition of Filmer's writings. Peter Laslett, ed., *Patriarcha and other Political Works of Sir Robert Filmer* (Oxford, 1949), pp. 10-43.

³⁴ Boucher, *Causes and Consequences*, p. 519.

After this dash of ridicule, Boucher continued in a more serious manner:

By asking another to exercise jurisdiction over me, I clearly confess that I do not think myself equal; and by his consenting to exercise such authority, he also virtually declares that he thinks himself superior. And, to establish this hypothesis of a compact, it is further necessary that the whole assembly should concur in this opinion—a concurrence so extremely improbable, that it seems to be barely possible. The supposition that a large concourse of people, in a rude and imperfect state of society, or even a majority [would accept] various restrictions, many of them irksome and unpleasant, and all of them contrary to all their former habits, is to suppose them possessed of more wisdom and virtue than multitudes in any instance in real life have ever shown.³⁵

To Boucher's uncomplicated and rather commonsensical mind, the social contract was a manifest absurdity. On the other hand, his conviction that the Bible was in every sense and every word the embodiment of veracity made Sir Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha* the most reasonable, indeed the ideal, theory of the body politic. Peter Laslett, the editor of Filmer's political tracts, calls Boucher the champion and the best defender of this philosopher.³⁶ Parrington agrees that Boucher's most "cherished discovery" was *Patriarcha*, but he dismisses this work as "an absurd jumble of Hebraic precedent and Tory prejudice."³⁷ Boucher is indeed guilty of receiving Filmer's tutelage, but perhaps the crime is not as heinous as Parrington would desire.

Sir Robert Filmer predicted that anarchy would be the only fruit of the blossom of natural rights and the social contract. As Boucher viewed America during the 1770's his prediction seemed to be realizing itself, and for the conservative such social disorder was appalling. Boucher listened with regret to the tale of a college oration delivered by a student at a Princeton commencement ceremony. In a letter to James he wrote,

I was told by Dr. Smith, Provost of the College of Philad'a [that] a Student delivering some oration on Governm't, w'th a vast shew

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 520-21.

³⁶ Laslett, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

³⁷ Parrington, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

of Erudit'n affected to derive it all from a Compact between King & People—that certain conditions were stipulated for by each of the contract'g parties, on the Failure, or Nonperformance of which, on either side, the Compact became void—that our King, by consent'g and passing Laws so *oppressive* to America, had violated the Conditions, & therefore forfeited all Title to allegiance.³⁸

For Boucher, as for other Tories, such an assertion was not only seditious, but was tantamount to revolutionary upheaval. If the people owed no allegiance, they had the right to resist obnoxious government, and resistance to civilian authority was disobedience to God. We must render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and for Boucher this implies "that unless we are good subjects, we cannot be good Christians."³⁹ By a curious twist of logic this assertion was reinforced by the claim that our paramount duty is to be good Christians, and neither the Apostles nor our Savior "ever did interfere with the affairs . . . or the administration of any government, otherwise than by submitting to them."⁴⁰ Christ himself discouraged those schemes

. . . so well calculated not only to promote his own elevation, but to emancipate his country [which] would have been inconsistent with that love to mankind which he manifested in every other action of his life The only rational conclusion [is that] he thought it would be better [that] people should not be distracted by a revolution, and . . . that there should be no precedent to which revolutionists might appeal⁴¹

It was this point of resistance to authority, and the violence which sooner or later followed, that provided the cause for the final break between patriot and Tory.⁴² No Loyalist could acknowledge a right of revolution. Such a belief is one of the insights into the conservative mind, for no right can exist which when executed is inimical to the society which assures its exis-

³⁸ Boucher to James, November 16, 1773, VIII (June, 1913), 184.

³⁹ Boucher, *Causes and Consequences*, p. 538.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 540.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 542.

⁴² Labaree comments that no conservative citizen could enjoy reading that "a fellow subject has had his house pulled down and been robbed of his furniture and money," because he had differed in opinion with the patriots (Labaree, *op. cit.*, p. 55).

tence. Yet, if this is one of the strengths of the conservative mind, it is more than offset by tragic weaknesses. Although they read the speeches of Burke, Jonathan Boucher and his fellow Tories could not understand Burke's statement, "We must all obey the great law of change."⁴³ That this law was the "most powerful law of nature, and the means perhaps of its conservation," was apparently either dismissed or unintelligible to them.⁴⁴ The Tories lacked that "sufficient faith in mankind, in common, [and the Loyalists in American mankind, in particular] to believe that out of disorder and violence, out of an inexperienced leadership and an undisciplined following, could come a stable and intelligent body politic."⁴⁵

Since resistance was proscribed, what channels for reform remained open to the oppressed? Boucher's answer was to invoke the constitutional procedures of Great Britain. Submit "public questions to public decisions of a Constitutional Legislature."⁴⁶ Petition the government and employ all methods of suasion that were duly sanctioned by tradition and the law. But when petitions and pleas came to nothing, the colonists began to ask one another where they should turn. Boucher gave his answer from his pulpit. It is a curious response which to the ears of his parishoners as well as to the modern reader is woefully unsatisfactory: ". . . it is your duty to instruct your members to take all the constitutional means in their power to obtain redress: if these means fail . . . you cannot but be sorry . . . but you will better bear your disappointment, by being able to reflect that it was not owing to any misconduct of your own" ⁴⁷ These means failing, the citizen must submit:

Obedience to government is every man's duty, because it is every man's interest If the form of government under which the good providence of God has been pleased to place us be mild and free, it is our duty to enjoy it with gratitude and with thankfulness If it be less indulgent and less liberal than in reason it ought to be, still it is our duty not to disturb and destroy the

⁴³ Quoted in Russell Kirk, *The Conservative Mind* (Chicago, 1960), p. 52.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Labaree, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

⁴⁶ Boucher, *Causes and Consequences*, p. 409.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 559.

peace of the community by becoming refractory and rebellious subjects, and resisting the ordinances of God.⁴⁸

The doctrine of passive obedience has come down to us intimately associated with Jonathan Boucher. He has been duly judged and condemned on its basis, and while it was the least satisfactory part of his political thought, it was also, unfortunately, the most prominent.

Jonathan Boucher had come to love America, but his unpopularity forced him to return to England. He departed on the tenth of September, 1775.⁴⁹ At first he thought to leave his wife in America, thereby enabling her to care for their estate until "the storm would blow over."⁵⁰ She apparently lacked the fortitude necessary to execute this plan, and both of them returned to England. Boucher left behind, in his own words, "all the interests I had in the world."⁵¹ The finis to Boucher's American career is symbolized by an advertisement that appeared in the *Maryland Gazette* on July 5, 1777. There appeared the notice of a "sale by auction" of "the well chosen library of the Rev. Mr. Boucher."⁵²

Once in England Boucher did not hesitate to suggest how the rebellion might be suppressed. In a letter probably addressed to William Knox,⁵³ then an under secretary of state, and dated November 27, 1775, Boucher asserted that there were two ways to crush the revolt: first, convince the opposition of the folly of armed resistance by decisively defeating Washington's army; second, convince the rebels that their prosperity is dependent upon commercial intercourse with Great Britain.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 508.

⁴⁹ Boucher, *Reminiscences*, p. 141.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Joseph Towne Wheeler, "Reading Interests of the Professional Classes in Colonial Maryland, 1770-1776," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXVI (June, 1941), 195.

⁵³ Jonathan Boucher to William Knox, November 27, 1775, VIII (September, 1913), 249-252.

⁵⁴ Boucher did not recognize that the prosperity issue was Janus-faced. Burke, in his speech on Conciliation, had pointed out that one-third of British commerce was with North America. George Dangerfield, in his *Era of Good Feelings* (London, 1953, see pp. 258-261) carefully shows how important good commercial relations with the United States were for Britain long after the break between the countries had occurred, and presumably after adjustments would have been made. The colonies and Great Britain were economically interdependent in 1775.

In Boucher's opinion a conclusive action against Washington, the occupation of New York with 10,000 men, and the separation of the northern from the southern colonies would bring the colonists to their senses. The parson had little respect for the strength of the middle colonies, and felt that it would be enough for them to be "equal to their own internal enemies."⁵⁵ He adds that the Indians were not dependable allies for the British government since, "They resemble the Elephants in the Armies of old: They may, it is true, exceedingly annoy your Enemy, but you have no Security that, even in the Moment of Victory, they will not turn on yourselves." Boucher's dislikes were apparently not all British and Tory in origin.

The American Revolution ended, much to the disgust of Boucher, in the triumph of the rebels and to a certain degree, of rebel principles. Boucher surveyed the results of this triumph in 1797 in the preface to his *Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution* and discovered a three-fold legacy: to the United States, to Britain and to the world. The former colonist felt that the United States had an opportunity to grow and to prosper if the Federalist ascendancy of the 1790's was maintained. He blandly praised the men who drew up the Constitution ("They probably did as much as they could"),⁵⁷ and he exhorted the American citizenry to follow it. Although he could not conscientiously commend the American form of government, yet since it had been erected it should be supported. Writing to an American audience, Boucher felt that he could present no better argument for the Constitution than by assuring this citizenry that were their government "even worse than I think it, yet it is better for you than a much better government which cannot be obtained without a civil commotion."⁵⁸ But the hope is conditional, for the patriots and the patriot principles which served as the justification for revolt against Britain are not soon or easily forgotten and "want but an adequate temptation and a convenient oppor-

⁵⁵ Boucher to Knox, *loc. cit.*, p. 251.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 252-253.

⁵⁷ Jonathan Boucher, *Causes and Consequences*, xliv.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, lxxi-lxxii.

tunity”⁵⁹ to be themselves used against the foundling government of the new republic.

For the British in 1797, Boucher considered the American rebellion to have a particular poignancy. The facinorous French Revolution was the “gigantic offspring of the American,” and Boucher was “overawed by the enormity of its guilt, and the immensity of the danger with which it threatens the world.”⁶⁰ If the British had in 1783 pursued vigorously, at the cost of an additional twenty millions in national debt, the suppression of the American revolt, the French Revolution, and the one hundred million by which it had increased the debt in 1797 would never have occurred.⁶¹ Such was Boucher’s vision of historical cause and effect.

Finally, Boucher warns America to take care that she would not be burned by the French conflagration. The eruption of Vesuvius, although it desolated the surrounding Italian countryside, was also known to have sent ashes as far as Constantinople. “The United States of America, though apparently far removed from the immediate scenes of the revolution in France is by no means out of the reach of its effects.”⁶² The thought might have crossed Boucher’s mind that such effects would not be the first example in history of a child’s ingratitude to its parents.

Jonathan Boucher remained convinced of the soundness of his beliefs throughout the rest of his life. He served the Church of England as vicar of Empson during his final nineteen years of life, and when not concerned with religious duties, he devoted himself to his family and to his philological enquiries.⁶³ In the preface to his *Causes and Consequences* he suggests probably more clearly than anywhere else, his own world view, and thus it is as useful as any summary of Boucher’s loyalism:

. . . mankind continue to be what they always have been They still are jealous of power, still fond of change, and still easily persuaded to believe that they are not so well governed as they ought to be. These are the standing characteristics of mankind

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, xliii.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, xliii.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, ix-x.

⁶² *Ibid.*, lxvi.

⁶³ Boucher, *Reminiscences*, pp. 199-201.

verified by almost every page of every history. Availing themselves of these propensities, ambitious and factious men have always found it easy . . . to mislead multitudes (wiser, it may be and better than themselves) to throw away real and substantial happiness in order of obtaining that which, after all, is but imaginary.⁶⁴

Boucher could readily conceive the weakness of man, but he was unable to grasp the potential for greatness in man. Perhaps this shortcoming, not the American Revolution, was the source of his disquietude and his misfortune.

⁶⁴ Boucher, *Causes and Consequences*, xxvi-xxvii.



HENRY CLAY METTAM

circa 1860

CIVIL WAR MEMOIRS OF THE FIRST MARYLAND CAVALRY, C. S. A.

By HENRY CLAY METTAM

Edited by SAMUEL H. MILLER

HENRY CLAY METTAM was born in 1844 and lived a long and full life before his death in 1929. Of all the experiences of his life, perhaps none remained so vivid as his days as a cavalryman in the First Maryland under the star crossed banner of the Confederacy. Almost fifty years after the close of his military career he wrote this account of his adventures. Although scholars will find here no new and heretofore unknown facts, still here is a private's recollections ably recapturing those bygone days.

The Mettams were of English descent. His father, the Reverend Joseph Mettam, was born in Mount Sorrel, England, in 1805 and with his wife, Ruth Barker Mettam, came to Norfolk, Virginia, in 1832. A short time later, he came to Baltimore, Maryland, where he was licensed to preach. His preaching took him to Pikesville where an accident changed his life.

Badly injured by a fall from his horse, he was nursed back to health by some ladies who conducted a girl's school. Recovered, he was asked to conduct services and soon a congregation gathered about him and selected him as their pastor. Doctor James Smith donated a half acre of land for a church and other community minded people gave time, material and money. By February of 1835 the church was ready for the congregation and its leader. Ordained as a Baptist minister on June 29, 1836, the Reverend Mr. Mettam continued to hold services in the Mettam Memorial Church until his death in 1888.¹ The church still stands although regular services are no longer held there.

¹ Information from an undated news clipping from an unidentified newspaper in the Maryland Vertical File at the Enoch Pratt Library.

The pastor and his wife were blessed with ten children of whom Henry Clay was their seventh. Henry Mettam was seventeen going on eighteen when he left Pikesville to fight for the South in 1862. The route he followed through southern Maryland and over into Virginia was, apparently, well established as an underground road into the Confederacy. After a time young Henry enlisted in a company of cavalry being raised by Captain William Raisin which became company E of the 1st Maryland Cavalry. During the next few years he experienced battle, illness, hardship, capture, imprisonment, foiled escape and finally the bitterness of defeat; a defeat that touched lightly, however, upon the young man's shoulders.

For many years after the war, Henry Mettam was employed by Towner and Landstreet, a firm headed by one of his army comrades, Edward Landstreet. In the 1870's he married Anna Marie Bartley of Philadelphia and of their marriage came eight children, seven daughters and a son. Mrs. Annette Mettam Burleigh, one of those daughters, preserved the memoirs of her father written in 1912 and has made them available to the Maryland Historical Society.

In editing Mr. Mettam's work only such changes have been made as were deemed necessary to a clear understanding of his text. Indeed, his story swings along with such youthful vigor that to alter it would impede rather than improve his style.

Along with my thanks to Mrs. Burleigh for making the manuscript available and for providing me with all other information used pertaining to the Mettam family, must go my thanks to C. A. Porter Hopkins, of the Maryland Historical Society, who has generously provided information for the footnotes on the Maryland scene and who has guided Henry Mettam's story to these pages.

CIVIL WAR MEMOIRS

1ST MARYLAND CAVALRY, C.S.A.

By HENRY C. METTAM

In the month of September, 1862, I left my home in Pikesville, Maryland, one morning about four o'clock, on my brother Sam's¹ black mare, "Bess," and started for the Confederacy. My friend, Tom Watts, had arranged to go with me, but found he had gone on alone; so I hurried on to Baltimore and found him at E. Lloyd Rogers' house on Lafayette avenue and McCulloh street. After spending some time with Mr. Rogers and getting instructions how to make our way down through Southern Maryland into Virginia, he gave us letters to several of his friends, along the route, and also a map of the route; we then left him and started on our journey. When we arrived at what was then called, Winans Long Bridge,² crossing over to Anne Arundel County, we had to pay toll, so when the toll gate keeper came I paid him for the round trip, to throw him off his guard, we then came to the other end of the bridge looking into Anne Arundel County, and just ahead of us, we saw a horse and buggy with a couple of gentlemen in it, and two soldiers searching the buggy, so it looked a little squally, as just near the bridge was a tent pitched and several soldiers on hand; so my friend, Tom Watts, said "Let us go back, for if they search us, we will go to Fort McHenry," but I said "No, I am going through to Dixie, or Fort McHenry. I don't propose to turn back," so I said to Tom, "You let me do the talking, you keep quiet if you are afraid," so when we reached the soldiers I bade them, "Good morning, gentlemen," as pleasantly as possible, and told them we were going over to spend the day with some of our friends in Anne

¹ Samuel Barker Mettam, born in Chesterfield, England, 1826, came to this country with his parents in 1832. During May of 1861 he was a lieutenant of the Garrison Fork Rangers. He does not seem to have served on either side during the war. In 1870 he was a Justice of the Peace at Pikesville. Samuel Mettam died in Baltimore in 1903. Enoch Pratt Library, Maryland Room, Biographical File; The Sun Files for week ending May 13, 1861; and information furnished by Mrs. Annette Burleigh.

² Winans Long Bridge was a privately operated toll bridge running from near Winans Beach at Ferry Bar across the Patapsco River to the Brooklyn section of Anne Arundel county. Later it was jointly operated by the city and Anne Arundel County until Baltimore City gained absolute control of the property in 1888. Today the Hanover Street Bridge stands about where Winans Long Bridge stood in 1861. Information provided by the Enoch Pratt Library, Maryland Room, from data in their files.

Arundel County, and they let us pass; when we had gotten only a few paces from them, my friend Tom says, "Let's get," but I said, "No, keep quiet, if we started on a run now they would suspicion us, and soon be on to us." So we jogged along until entirely out of sight and then let our steeds out for a good run, and we at last, about sun down, came in sight of Annapolis Junction. The road we were on led directly under the bridge, and on top of which were several soldiers on guard, or picket duty, so we turned to the right, through a clump of trees, and soon were at the barn yard of Mr. Williamson, and he was in the yard looking after his stock for the night, and I informed him that we were on our way to see Mr. Hopkins, (nephew of the late Johns Hopkins); he told us to keep the road running under the railroad bridge, and it would take us to the house.

I then said, "We see some soldiers on the bridge, and they might ask us unnecessary questions, &c." and then he said, "All right, go right through my fields, and if your horses cannot jump the fences, take them down, and you need not bother to put them up; there is Mr. Hopkins' house, right over on the hill." I thanked him and made our way as suggested to Mr. Hopkins', and upon our arrival I presented my letter from Mr. Rogers, and received a most cordial welcome and remained there over night, being well taken care of both ourselves and horses.

The next morning after a good breakfast we started on our journey, and Mr. Hopkins went with us as far as Mr. Shippard's, and then Mr. Shippard took us to a Mr. Baird, and took dinner there, and while there I wrote a few lines home to my mother and father, and asked the daughter, (and quite pretty by the way) if she would attend to having the letter mailed, and she said she would with pleasure; and just here, transgressing—when I returned home in May, 1865, they told me about my letter being sent by Miss Baird, and a letter from her explaining how she was out riding a few days later, having sent one of the colored men to the post office with my letter to mail, that she saw something like a torn letter on the ground, and when she dismounted from her horse, she found upon picking it up, that it was the letter I had written home, and was torn in several parts, and she took them home, wrote to my mother and enclosed the letter, speaking of me in very nice terms, and thought how sad it was for one so young as I to go away from home to join the army of the South; her father started a correspondence with my folks that kept up for a long time. And when I returned home, and heard all this, I sat down and wrote to her,

and when the reply came, she informed me that she was married (what a pity).

Well, I must return to my journey southward after transgressing to love making.

After bidding good bye to Mr. and Mrs. Baird and Miss Lilly Baird, we went on our way piloted by Mr. Shippard, who left us at a certain point to make our way to a Mr. Bouldin, to whom we had a letter of introduction from our friend, Mr. Lloyd Rogers. So after riding until about five o'clock, we came to the beautiful residence of Mr. Bouldin, riding up a wide avenue with large trees each side we came to a large colonial house, and after ringing the door bell which was answered by a servant, I asked for Mr. Bouldin and just then Mrs. Bouldin (the mother) came down, and told me her son was away but would soon return and cordially invited me in, but as I explained to her I was not acquainted with her son, only had a letter to him, she insisted on our coming in and refreshing ourselves with a glass of wine and cake, which we did, sitting down in the spacious hall, and we then told her we would go on, and perhaps meet her son. So after leaving there, I said to Tom, I guess we may take our sleep in the woods if we do not meet Bouldin, but just then I spied a buggy and pair coming dashing up the road, with a young man driving, and a little coon at his side, and as he approached I held up my hand, and he stopped; I said, "Is this Mr. Bouldin?"; he said, "Yes,"; I told him my name was Mettam from Baltimore and had a letter from E. Lloyd Rogers. "All right," he said "Follow me." We wheeled our horses around and went back home with him. And when he reached the front porch, he called Tom, Dick, Harry, &c., and soon there were several coons ready to take our horses, and he gave them strict orders as to their care. Going into the house, he took us in his library, and rang for servants, and two young coons, by his instructions, took us up to a fine bed room, took off our riding boots and stockings, bathed our feet, then we took a wash off and came down ready for a fine supper, and when we were ushered into the dining room, we were seated among some dozen ladies and gentlemen, all introduced, and had a gorgeous supper; after that we spent the evening in his library, smoking and playing chess until bedtime, and were put to bed in fine style, and had a good night's rest, which we needed. We got up in good time next morning and ready to start again after breakfast, though we were urged to spend a few days with them.

We started again on our way to "Dixie" and after many adventures we arrived at Mr. Mark B. Chun's house near Chaptico, St.

Mary's County—an old friend of my father's. We spent a few days there with him and then went to Leonardtown with him to find out how to get across the Potomac. Mr. Chun introduced us to Mr. Moore, proprietor of the hotel in Leonardtown, and he informed us that there was a party of some 25 or 30 stopping at the hotel, and were waiting on a certain vessel to take them across. So we soon all got acquainted and made our arrangements to go with them, we paying a certain amount for our passage. The next day we were told by Mr. Moore to get ourselves ready, so that when the dinner bell rang, for us to leave any baggage we wanted taken down to the wharf on the desk in the office. Here I must go back and say that when I left home I had on two suits of heavy underwear, and two top shirts, a new suit of heavy, warm gray and a heavy overcoat, and all of my pockets filled with stockings, collars, cuffs and handkerchiefs, &c. &c. So when I was told to leave my baggage at the office desk, I slipped out, purchased a grip, went up stairs at the hotel, stripped myself of the surplus clothing, filled the grip and then deposited it on the hotel desk.

We all went into dinner, and when we came out I found everything ready for the march to Goff's Wharf, a landing on Brittons³ Bay upon which Leonardtown is situated.

I soon found out that a party of some thirty in number would go, and that the schooner's hold was loaded with contraband goods for the Confederacy.

You can imagine a party of thirty men walking out of Moore's Hotel, Leonardtown, Maryland, just after a noon dinner, and marching down to the wharf, with a sympathetic friend on horseback to lead us, and when we had nearly reached the wharf, he being mounted could see farther ahead and beckoned for us to lie down, and upon investigation he found that a United States Revenue Cutter was at the wharf getting provisions. They finally pulled out and we went on, and all got aboard our schooner. As I stated before, the hold of the schooner was loaded with pine cord wood, leaving the two holds open, fore and aft, so that in case we were boarded we could reach the deck quickly and defend ourselves. About four o'clock in the afternoon the captain took his little skiff and went up to Leonardtown to get some provisions for supper, and we calculated on sailing out the bay that night, but as the sun went down we were still at anchor and no captain, and we all began to get a little uneasy fearing that he may have been caught, and we might at any moment expect to be boarded by a

³ Brittons Bay is shown as Breton Bay on the 1960 Map of Maryland prepared by the Maryland State Roads Commission.

revenue cutter, but about nine o'clock the captain came, with cheese, crackers, &c., and we all had a share. Unfortunately the wind did not arrive, and we were compelled to lie in the hold of the schooner that night and all the next day, waiting for wind and tide. About nine o'clock the following night we got a stiff breeze and started on our journey, and we were soon standing off the banks of the Virginia side of the Potomac river at Chantilla Bluffs (Westmoreland county).⁴

As the parties owning the goods had the prior right, having chartered the vessel, to get their goods off first (we having paid them our passage only), we had to wait until the small boats took the goods ashore, and in the meantime my friend, Tom Watts and I had made the acquaintance of five of the party, and we had agreed to stick together until we reached Richmond, Virginia. So we all finally landed on old Virginia's shore and we seven started on the tramp. After a few miles we came to a small house with barn, garden, &c., and after a time aroused the man of the house and requested a place to sleep, so he took us to his barn loft and we slept the balance of the night on some bags of grain. The next morning we were all up bright and early and went to the house for breakfast, which consisted of fried guinea-keet, potatoes, corn bread and rye coffee, not from Rio de Janeiro, South America, but the rye grain raised in the fields of Virginia. But it all tasted good and all of us well pleased, and when we went to settle he said 25 cents each would do and we were all pleased.

We then made inquiries about some kind of a vehicle to carry us along on our journey, and he suggested a party who had a horse and wagon, so we went our way and soon were in a wagon without springs and we all went jogging along. He carried us as far as Montrose⁵ and another to Bayesville, and another to Potomac Mills. Opposite Laytons Ferry on the Rappahannock river, and after signalling for some time, old Captain Armstrong came across for us in a row boat, and when we seven got aboard with Captain Armstrong making eight, and our baggage, she had about all she could carry, and at times it looked as though we might have to swim, as the river was quite wide and deep, but we all landed safely, and very thankful. We were taken up to the house and all

⁴ Chantilla Bluffs undoubtedly refers to Chantilly, once the home of Richard Henry Lee (1732-94). Not far from Stratford Hall, the birthplace of Robert E. Lee, it is fitting that Mettam should have landed in Virginia on ground intimately associated with the Lees. In part from *Virginia, A Guide to the Old Dominion*, (New York, 1940), pp. 546-547.

⁵ Montrose refers to Montross, county seat of Westmoreland County since 1673. *Ibid.* page 547.

had the opportunity to get washed and dust off our clothes, when we were ushered into the dining room and sat down to a fine, hot meal (the first since leaving Moore's Hotel), and we all did ample justice to it.

After supper we sat around, smoked and chatted, and when bedtime came we were all ushered into a large room with three beds in it, and one or two had thrown themselves on the floor with a chair turned over, and when I awoke in the morning I found myself alone in a large double bed, and two still asleep on the floor.

After a good breakfast Captain Armstrong had his team brought to the door, consisting of a regular farm wagon without any top, and seven large cane seat chairs for us to sit on, a pair of mules and driver, and after getting under way we had a very pleasant ride to Bowling Green, where we stopped for a mid-day meal. The house was kept by two maiden ladies, and they kept a register in which we all wrote our names, and looking through it I saw several names I knew, one in particular was Miss Hetty Cary⁶ of Baltimore. She had run the blockade several times and I will speak of her again later.

After a good lunch we started for Milford Station (Caroline county) on the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railroad, and found, to our great disappointment, that we could not get a train until early the next morning for Richmond. So after supper we smoked and soon went to our rooms, leaving word to be called in ample time to catch the first train for Richmond. We finally went to bed and to sleep, but as the hotel was located directly alongside the railroad tracks, and as we had a front room, we were up several times during the night when a freight train or special went along.

After a restless night, jumping up to look out of the window every time a freight or special came along, we at last got up about daylight and were ready for breakfast, and then we at last took a train for Richmond. While the distance was only about forty miles, it took us until towards evening to get there, as the war was well under way and trains were subject to all kinds of delays, such as side-tracking for specials carrying troops and munitions of war.

When we arrived in Richmond there was quite a crowd on Broad Street, where the trains stopped, as apparently there was no depot, and we were all given a hearty welcome. Tom and I were as strangers in a strange land, but only for a short time, as we soon made

⁶ Hetty Cary, along with her sister, Jennie, introduced *Maryland My Maryland*. She married General John Pegram, CSA, shortly before he was killed in action. After the war she taught school in Baltimore. In 1879 she married H. Newell Martin: *The Sun*, July 17, 1949.

acquaintances and friends, and were soon located in a comfortable boarding house.

I spent several weeks in Richmond having many letters to deliver from friends for whom I had carried them through the lines, and letters from my father to friends of his. I also called on Mr. A. C. Landstreet (father of Edward Landstreet of the Baltimore firm of Towner and Landstreet)⁷ who had a position in one of the War Departments in Richmond, who, by the way, was a member of the great "Black Horse Cavalry," C. S. A., that played such a prominent part in the first battle of Bull Run, which occurred in July, 1861, when the Yankees were completely routed, and I have heard that some of the Northern soldiers were so terribly frightened and unnerved that they threw away their guns and ran into a field among a lot of negroes, and made the negroes strip and change clothes with them.

To go back to Richmond, having transgressed, when I called on Mr. A. C. Landstreet he was glad to see me and gave me a hearty welcome, and informed me that Ned, his son, was in the First Virginia Cavalry (by the way, Mr. Landstreet at one time lived in the Green Spring Valley, and his boys and I went to school together; he owned the farm now owned by Mr. Samuel Shoemaker; Mr. Landstreet sold it in 1857 and purchased a farm in Fairfax county, Virginia, and moved his family there).

One day I was walking around Richmond and was picked up by a provost guard and taken to headquarters and had to give an account of myself, they thinking I might be a deserter or spy. So I told them my little story and also told them I thought it very bad treatment to one who had run the risk I had to come down and help them, so I finally requested them to have a guard sent with me to my friend Landstreet, and he came and explained matters to the captain of the guard and all was settled.

A few days after this I made the acquaintance of a young man from Waynesboro, Augusta county, Virginia, and we talked over matters generally, and he informed me that he was a member of Company E, First Virginia Cavalry, the same regiment to which Ned Landstreet belonged, so my friend wished me to join with him, and he finally invited me to go with him to his home, which I did, spending some two weeks with his father, mother, brothers and sisters on one of the largest and finest farms in Augusta county,

⁷ Towner and Landstreet and Company (Edward Landstreet) manufacturers, agents, and importers, rubber goods and cotton and woollen supplies, 217-219 W. Baltimore Street: *Baltimore City Directory*, 1880. It will be remembered that Mettam worked for this company after the war.

and later he furnished me with a horse and we together went to his regiment, then at Fredericksburg, at which place the great battle of Fredericksburg was fought December 12-13, 1862. After locating his regiment and making the acquaintance of many of them, also meeting Ned Landstreet, I began to feel like a soldier, and when our artillery, which lined the hills opposite where Burnside and his great army had planned to march on to Richmond, and as they threw their pontoon bridges across the Rappahannock river to the left of Fredericksburg and the Union soldiers crossed and formed in platoons and started to charge, our artillery opened with such terrific fire that thousands were killed at the first volley. They would form again and come on with the same results, and this was kept up several days and sometimes into the night.

In the rear of these hills were our cavalry and infantry, resting on their arms, ready at a moment's warning to go to the front, but our artillery seemed to be all that was necessary, and after about four days Burnside concluded that he had not taken the right road to Richmond.

During this cannonading on both sides I was riding in an open field just in the rear of our army when a shell came over my head and struck in the earth about three feet ahead of me, but fortunately it did not explode, or neither horse nor rider would have lived to tell anything more.

I at last thought I would run down to Richmond and see if there were any of the Maryland boys who could put me on the track of the First Maryland Cavalry, as I thought best to attach myself to a Maryland regiment, although there were many Maryland boys scattered through Virginia regiments, both cavalry, infantry and artillery. So when I arrived in Richmond I found upon inquiry that Captain William I. Rasin⁸ was organizing a company at "Camp Lee," just out from Richmond on the line of the Richmond & Fredericksburg Railroad, so I took the little "dummy" on Broad street and soon landed at "Camp Lee," where I found

⁸ William I. Rasin (7/4/1841-6/18/1916) was born in Kent County, Maryland, the son of Macall Medford Rasin and Margaret Ann Boyer Rasin. At the death of his father he moved to St. Louis. In 1861 Rasin served briefly in the army under Sterling Price in Missouri. Returning to Maryland, he was arrested as a spy and sentenced to Fort Warren. Escaping he went to Virginia and organized Company E of the 1st Maryland Cavalry Battalion which he led through the rest of the war. After Appomattox he made his way to Johnston's army in North Carolina, where he surrendered. For many years he was a commission merchant in Baltimore and later a cashier in the Internal Revenue Department. He died at Newport News. *Confederate Military History*, Clement Evans, editor (Atlanta, 1899), II, pp. 382-383 (Cited hereafter as *CMH*) and the *Confederate Veteran Magazine*, XXIV (1916), p. 466.

several old friends, Powell Cockey (son of John Robert Cockey of Worthington's Valley), Edwin R. Rich⁹ (brother of the Reverend Doctor Rich, formerly of Hannah More Academy, Reisterstown, Maryland), John Slingluff, Skinner Quinn, and after a little talk concluded this was the place for me. So inside of twenty four hours I was weighed, measured and enlisted in Company E, C.S.A., later on to be attached to the First Maryland Cavalry, Lt.-Col. Ridgely Brown.

So now I begin with a soldier's life and fortune. This was January, 1863, and we continued here until some time in March, drilling on foot, awaiting our horses, which were being brought from North Carolina by an agent sent by Captain Rasin, we to pay to the Captain so much per month until our horse was paid for.

The horses came at last, and after getting our complete outfit we started for the Valley of Virginia, reaching our destination in due time and making our camp at Lacy Springs near Harrisonburg, Virginia, where we spent time getting ready for orders. Finally on Thursday, April 22, 1863, orders were issued to saddle up and we were all ready in short order to go and follow our Colonel Brown¹⁰ wherever he would command us. So off we go, not knowing where, but willing and satisfied to do our duty.

Our battalion of five companies were attached to General W. E. Jones' brigade¹¹ and we started on the march to West Virginia. For about a week after we started we had rain, and when finally,

⁹ Edwin R. Rich: Edward R. Rich (1841-1916) recorded his experiences in *Comrades Four* (New York, 1907). At the time of publication he was Dean of Trinity Cathedral in Easton, Maryland. Dielman File, Maryland Historical Society (cited hereafter as Dielman) and *Comrades Four*.

¹⁰ Lieutenant Colonel Ridgely Brown (C1833-6/1/1864) was born in Montgomery County, Maryland. He entered Virginia June 1st, 1861, and soon became a lieutenant in company K, 1st Virginia Cavalry. When the 1st Maryland Cavalry was organized at Winchester on November 25th, 1862, Brown was named its major. At Greenland Gap he was wounded in the leg but continued to ride for 168 miles before seeking aid. On June 1, 1864, three years to the day that he had entered Virginia, he was killed in action on the South Anna River, *CMH*, II, p. 217.

¹¹ General W. E. Jones' brigade; during this raid against the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and Oiltown, April 21st to May 21st 1863, consisted of the following troops less detachments: 1st Maryland Cavalry Battalion, Major Ridgely Brown; 6th Virginia Cavalry, Colonel John Shac Green; 7th Virginia Cavalry, Lt. Colonel Thomas Marshall; 11th Virginia Cavalry, Colonel Lunsford Lomax; 12th Virginia Cavalry, Colonel W. W. Harmon; 34th Virginia Cavalry Battalion, Lt. Colonel V. A. Witcher; and the 35th Virginia Cavalry Battalion, Lt. Colonel Elijah V. White. Captain John H. McNeill's partisan ranger company also rode with the brigade: *War of the Rebellion, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, (Washington, 1881-1901) series I, Volume 35, part 1, p. 794 (cited hereafter as *OR*). The reports of this raid will be found *ibid* pp. 113-145.

as we were coming down the mountainside, the sun came out, we overlooked the beautiful Moorefield Valley, with hay stacks as plentiful as hay cocks in ordinary fields. We passed through the little town of Moorefield and down through the valley to Mr. Van Meter's farm where we were treated to plenty to eat of corn cakes and honey, and our horses to the first yellow corn on the cob since we left Richmond. After all being satisfied we started for Greenland Gap, Hampshire County, West Virginia, at which point we arrived and found that Mulligan's 100¹² had entrenched themselves in a large log house commanding the road in both directions. We were compelled to pass that house or turn back. Company E was in the advance, and cautiously we dismounted and crept through the underbrush and fallen trees, avoiding the road as much as possible, until about thirty feet of the stream we made a dash through towards the fort. For it was indeed a fort, and from its windows and pierced sides fully one hundred rifles poured deadly fire upon our little band. Several fell midway of the stream. Among them was one young fellow who had left his home in Southern Maryland against his father's consent, and his father said, in the presence of some of his friends, that he hoped he would be killed in the first battle, and sure enough he was killed in this, his first and last charge. The One Hundred Irish were full of pluck, and when we demanded them to surrender they said, Never. So we finally told them if they did they would be treated as prisoners of war, but if not they would be burnt out. So we laid our plans accordingly, and some half dozen or more of our men stealthily got to the rear, and then our commanding officer (Ned Johnson, Sergeant-Major), in a stentorian voice called on the inmates to surrender. A howl greeted us, and the words, NEVER, NEVER, fell upon our ears. Meanwhile our men surrounded the house to prevent escape, and reinforcements having made their way across the stream, we proceeded to batter down the doors. There were no windows on the first floor, but from the second story the men hurled rocks and pieces of iron upon us, and although these windows were closely watched, occasional shots were fired with deadly effect upon the attacking party.

¹² Mulligan's 100 was a command of Irishmen raised in Chicago by James Adelbert Mulligan who became their colonel. Mulligan, born in Utica, New York, June 25, 1830; was wounded and died soon after the battle of Winchester, July 26, 1864. He refused a general's stars to stay with his men. His regiment was the 23rd Regiment Illinois Infantry, also styled Mulligan's Brigade or Irish Brigade or the 1st Irish Regiment, *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, (New York, 1915), IV, 458. *Personnel of the Civil War*, edited by William Amann, *The Union Armies*, (New York, 1961), II, 92.

It was now well into the night, and the resolute Irishmen who essayed to shoot from the windows could be seen only by the light of their own firearms, but the flash was no sooner seen than it was answered from without, and several of the brave fellows fell back into the dark room, mortally wounded.

The doors, made of the heaviest oak boards and guided by strong iron bars, resisted all our efforts, and a hurried consultation was held, which resulted in the determination to "burn them out."

A lot of dry wood, lying near, was gathered, and once more the brave defenders of the fort were called upon to surrender or the house would be fired. "Burn and be d—d," was the answer.

Immediately the match was applied to one corner of the house and the flames soon rose, and the smoke curling up was driven into one of the windows and a voice called out, "We'll surrender if you will spare our lives." "All right," cried the Captain, "Come out one by one and you will not be harmed."

The wood was torn away, enough left burning to make everything light as day, and opening the door, out they came, some ninety of them, and a brave, sturdy set of fellows they were. They were speedily disarmed and sent to the rear. The dead, five in number, were brought out and buried near our own fallen comrades, and then we had to arrange about the disposition of the prisoners. So a detail was made up of ten of our men to take them back into our lines and turn them over to the prison authorities, and among the ten was your humble servant, much to my disappointment, but orders in war times could not but be obeyed, and while the command went on to accomplish the task before them, we went back to Harrisonburg, Virginia, with our ninety prisoners, and as we had no commissary wagon along, we had to do the best we could through a rough country to get something to eat, but we finally reached our destination, and after disposing of our burden, we took a rest at "Bridgewater," near Harrisonburg. We had not been there very long when I was taken sick and called on Doctor McKnew,¹³ our regimental surgeon, and after giving me some medicine he told me to get to my bunk for a while. In a few days he called to see me and found I had typhoid fever. He ordered me taken to the hospital at Harrisonburg, Virginia, and an old farmer came with his carriage and much against my will soon landed me in the hospital, but it turned out to be for the best.

¹³ Wilberforce Richmond McKnew (9/28/1839–5/31/1904) entered the Confederate service in 1862 as assistant surgeon in the 1st Maryland Cavalry. Taken prisoner at Greenland Gap, he was held for a month at Fort Norfolk. *C.M.H.*, VII, 350-361 and Dielman File, Md. Hist. Soc.

After a bath, my hair cut short and put to bed I could not remember anything for weeks, and during my stay there I was at times very near passing over the river, and from May until July just after the battle of Gettysburg, was I able to walk alone. I had every care and attention from my good old nurse, a Mr. Chambliss, from Georgia, who was unfit for military service, so was sent as a nurse in the hospital, and a good and faithful one he was to me, and in September that year when the Yankees came up the Valley, I was sent in the coach to Staunton, and the dear old man and I had a good cry at parting.

I did not recover my strength very rapidly, and when I spoke to the doctors about going back to my regiment, they would not listen to it, and spoke as though I would not be fit for service again; but finally, a day or two before Christmas, I told them I could not stand it any longer, and I would sooner die in the field than in the hospital. So, after a good breakfast, I packed up what little I had, and with my haversack full of good things from two of the matrons at the hospital, such as chicken, biscuits and cakes, I took the train for camp at Hanover junction, and the boys all gave me a hearty welcome, and I gave them the good things to eat that I had brought.

I found the camp as winter quarters at Hanover Junction, where the First Maryland Cavalry, Second Maryland Infantry, First Maryland Battery of Artillery, Second Maryland Battery (Baltimore Light) and Chesapeake Battery [constituted the Maryland Line].¹⁴

The duty assigned us was protecting that depot, and the bridges over the North and South Anna rivers, which in that neighborhood unite and form the Pamunkey. This post being on the direct line over which General Lee drew his supplies and maintained his communication with Richmond, and the service we rendered during this winter was of great value.

From our camp at Hanover Junction a detail was made about every ten days to go down to Dabney Ferry on the Pamunkey and

¹⁴ The Maryland Line consisted of the following units when organized in 1863: 1st Maryland Cavalry, Lt. Colonel Ridgely Brown, organized 5/15/62; 2nd Maryland Infantry, Captain J. Parran Crane, (Lt. Colonel James R. Herbert and Major W. W. Goldsborough both still absent from wounds received at Gettysburg) organized 9/28/62; 1st Maryland Battery (Maryland Battery), Captain William F. Dement, organized 7/10/61; 2nd Maryland Battery, (Baltimore Light), Captain William H. Griffin, organized in fall of 1861; 4th Maryland Battery, (Chesapeake Battery), Captain Walter S. Chew, organized early in 1861. These units were collected to form the Maryland Line under Special Order No. 269, dated October 31, 1863, and assigned to the command of Colonel Bradley T. Johnson. This was in line with the government's policy of brigading state troops together, *OR* 1, 33, p. 1090. For organizational dates see Harold R. Manakee, *Maryland in the Civil War*, (Baltimore, 1961).

spend the time watching and guarding against surprises from the enemy, who were constantly making cavalry raids through the peninsula, such as Dahlgren and Kilpatrick expeditions. We would generally take ten days' rations with us, but were so fortunate as to have made the acquaintance of Widow Munday, who had a large farm across the river, and she sent us a good dinner over each day and we all enjoyed it.

While we were at camp that winter we had some good times as well as rough ones. Our mess was composed of Powell Cockey, Ned Rich, Skinner Quinn, John Slingluff and your humble servant (H. C. Mettam), and we all got along nicely, each taking his share of the work. Our quarters was a log hut, built about 10 by 15 feet, and with bunks for sleeping, good big open fireplace with plenty of chimney, and with cooking utensils such as pots, kettle and spider we could get up a pretty good meal, and on Christmas Day we thought we would try our hands, so we waited until several of our neighbors had finished with their cooking utensils and we then borrowed them, one with roast pork and sweet potatoes, one corn pone, one with oyster pot-pie, another biscuits, one mashed potatoes and turnips, pot of coffee, etc., and I assure you we all had a good, full meal and some left over; so we concluded to end with a smoker and then rolled into our bunks for a snooze, thinking we would eat the leavings for supper, but when we woke found some one or more had been in ahead of us and had eaten all up.

May 1864

On the 9th of May, 1864, Major-General Phil Sheridan passed by the right flank of the Army of Northern Virginia. Colonel Johnson¹⁵ was absent from the headquarters of the Maryland Line at the Junction, on a scout down the peninsula, leaving Colonel Brown in command. In the afternoon Colonel Brown had information of the Federal movement and proceeded promptly to put himself in front of it, and before Richmond, with one hundred and fifty sabres. He came in contact with the enemy at about

¹⁵ Bradley Tyler Johnson (9/29/1829–10/5/1903) born in Frederick, Maryland, he graduated from Princeton in 1849 and entered the bar in 1851. He helped organize the 1st Maryland Infantry and served as its major and later as its colonel. Because Maryland was not a part of the Confederacy, Johnson was looked upon as a foreigner and his commission as general did not come until June of 1864 when he was assigned General W. E. Jones' brigade. Later when certain brigades were consolidated, his brigade was broken up and Johnson served the rest of the war in the Confederate Prison system in North Carolina. After the war he served in the Virginia Senate for many years before returning to Maryland in 1879. He lies buried in Loudon Park Confederate Plot among his comrades. Ezra J. Warner, *Generals In Gray* (Baton Rouge, 1959), pp. 156-7.

eleven o'clock at night about a mile from Beaver Dam Station, on the Virginia Central Railroad (now the Chesapeake & Ohio).

The enemy was tearing up and destroying the railroad ties. Colonel Brown dismounted his command, about ninety men, the rest left as horse holders and reserve. He himself got up close to them and saw their positions. Returning to his command he attacked and moved forward, driving in pickets and skirmishers sent out to stop him. He pressed them back on the line of Sheridan's command formed to receive him.

Thirteen thousand to one hundred and fifty was odds and Colonel Brown was obliged to decline such odds, and we withdrew.

The next morning Colonel Brown received a dispatch from General J. E. B. Stuart¹⁶ to attack and delay them until he could get up, and we stood up against this overwhelming force all the day and until nightfall, when General Stuart and Fitzhugh Lee, with their commands, came, and as we had cut trees down and barricaded the road, Sheridan was compelled to turn his course somewhat and take the Crowfoot road, and General Stuart was enabled to get to Yellow Tavern ahead of Sheridan, but the fight at Yellow Tavern was the great loss of General Stuart, as he was killed leading a charge.¹⁷

In the latter part of May Lee's army fell back to the line of the North Anna, and Grant, as usual, moved by his right and crossed the Pamunkey at Dabney's Ferry. General Johnson and the cavalry of the Line happened to be near there watching for such a movement. Colonel Baker¹⁸ of North Carolina was there with Gordon's North Carolina Brigade,¹⁹ and attacked the party which had crossed the river and driven off the Confederate pickets.

¹⁶ James Ewell Brown Stuart (2/6/1833—4/12/1864). In 1867 John Esten Cooke wrote, "Stuart was born to fight cavalry. Even dead and crumbled into dust, the form of Stuart still fills the eye, and the tallest dwindle by his side, he seems so great." Say no more. John Esten Cooke, *Wearing of the Gray* (New York, 1867), p. 43.

¹⁷ For a study of Yellow Tavern and the activity leading up to the battle see: Samuel H. Miller, *Civil War History*, "Yellow Tavern," University of Iowa, 1956.

¹⁸ Colonel John A. Baker, 3rd North Carolina Cavalry, arrived with his command from North Carolina before May 27, 1864, when he assumed command of Gordon's brigade from Colonel C. M. Andrews of the 2nd North Carolina. Baker was captured in June and remained a prisoner until he took the oath of allegiance on or about March 3, 1865. *CMH.*, IV 4, p. 261; *OR* 1, p. 1306; *OR* 1, 36, 2, p. 1021; *OR* 1, 52, 2, p. 950; *OR* 2, 7, p. 899; *OR* 2, 8, p. 332.

¹⁹ Gordon's North Carolina Brigade: consisted of the 1st, 2nd and 5th North Carolina Cavalry. The 3rd North Carolina had not yet joined. The 4th North Carolina had been transferred south. With these small regiments General James Byron Gordon (11/2/1822—5/18/1864) had clung to the rear of Sheridan's heavy column until after Yellow Tavern. At Brook Church, the day after Yellow

General Fitz Lee,²⁰ to whom General Johnson was temporarily reporting, directed him to go to the assistance of Baker. After a conference Johnson agreed that if Baker could hold the Federals while he, Johnson, could get at them, they two would capture the whole party.

So Baker kept a brisk skirmish, and Johnson, with the First Maryland Cavalry and Baltimore Light Artillery, moved up a side road to the right.

As our company (E) was in the advance, Captain Rasin ordered me to go ahead at least one hundred yards and keep sharp lookout; the road we were going was narrow with thick woods and swamp to the left and open cornfields to the right with what was called a wattling fence, with posts driven in the ground about every three feet and cedar branches woven like a basket, so you can imagine us destroying such a fence. We had not gone a mile when I saw Baker's pickets coming full tilt, with Custer's men at their heels, pressing us so close that they knocked some of our men off their horses, and hardly giving us time to leave the narrow road and get into the open field, but tearing this wattling fence down we soon formed in line, and as Custer's men came up they had the brush fence to protect them, and the first volley they fired killed General Johnson's horse and shot his sabre clean from his side. By that time a column of Federal cavalry was going by our left flank and into our rear, so we attempted to withdraw decently and in order, and as we found this impossible we were ordered to get out the best we could, and we lost some ten or more killed, wounded or missing. Among the wounded was my old friend and messmate, Ned Rich.

This was always afterwards known in the Maryland Line as the fight at Pollard's Farm, May 27, 1864.

On the first of June following a force of Federal cavalry drove the First Maryland out of Hanover Court House over the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railroad at Wickham's Crossing, back to the Virginia Central Railroad, not far north of Ashland. The bridges on the Virginia Central were very valuable to us, as they gave the only way by rail to the Valley of Virginia. We fought

Tavern, as Stuart lay dying in Richmond, Gordon was mortally wounded encouraging his men to the attack. Miller, *Civil War History*.

²⁰ Fitzhugh Lee (11/19/1835-4/28/1905) a nephew of Robert E. Lee and a graduate of West Point, resigned from the U.S. Army to enter the 1st Virginia Cavalry. At the end of the war he was in command of all the cavalry of the Army of Northern Virginia. At the time of the Spanish American war, he returned to the United States Army as a major general. Lee also served as governor of Virginia: *Generals in Gray*, p. 178.

the enemy from point to point all the way from Wickham's to the Virginia Central bridges, in hopes that reinforcements would be sent us, and thus save the bridges; but as no reinforcements came, at last Colonel Ridgely Brown determined to make an effort, and as he led us in one desperate charge, he was shot through the forehead and died without speaking a word.

He was the bravest, the purest, the gentlest man from Maryland who died for liberty in that four years' war.

Our regiment, under Colonel Johnson, took a conspicuous and useful part in the battle of Trevilian's on January 12th²¹ between the Confederate cavalry, 4500 sabres, under Hampton²² and Rosser,²³ and the Federal cavalry, 13000 sabres, under Sheridan and Custer.²⁴

When Custer, in a dashing charge, rode through a vacant place in Hampton's center, Rosser from the left, with his own brigade and the Maryland Line cavalry, charged Custer's flank, and in turn rode through him, cutting him in two.

Our regiment captured over one hundred horses and men, completely armed and equipped, and my share was a fine pair of new cavalry boots, from one of Custer's lieutenants, what I was badly in need of.

After the engagement at Trevilians, Colonel Johnson obtained permission from General Wade Hampton to undertake a trip into Maryland and Pennsylvania, and in the meantime General Early had been making plans for a similar trip. General Early assigned him to take command of William E. Jones' cavalry brigade,²⁵ Jones

²¹ One of Mettams' few slips in date. Trevilian's was fought on June 12th, 1864.

²² Wade Hampton (3/28/1818—4/11/1902), the Grand Sieugner of South Carolina, was one of the wealthiest men in the South when he entered the Confederate Service. In 1862 he was given a brigade and by the end of the war was a lieutenant general of cavalry. After the war he was governor of his state and a United States senator. *Generals in Gray*, p. 122-123.

²³ Thomas Lafayette Rosser (10/15/1836—3/29/1910) resigned from West Point shortly before graduation in 1861. His gallantry in action attracted him to Jeb Stuart who gave him a regiment and then a brigade. At war's end he was a major general. After the war he served the railroads in the west. In the Spanish American War he became a brigadier general in the U. S. Army, *ibid.*, pp. 264-265.

²⁴ George Armstrong Custer (12/5/1839-6/25/1876) graduated from West Point and rose to be major general of cavalry and justly renowned for his daring. As Colonel of the 7th Cavalry, he took on the entire Sioux Nation and died along with his command, 277 officers and men, on the Little Big Horn, *D.A.B.*, V, 7.

²⁵ William E. Jones' cavalry brigade consisted of the 8th and 21st Virginia cavalry regiments and the 34th, 36th, and 37th Battalions Virginia Cavalry in January of 1864. *OR* 1, 33, p. 1137. However, in October of 1864 Johnson's brigade is shown to have been composed of the 8th and 21st Regiments Virginia Cavalry and the 36th and 37th Battalions with an aggregate present of

having been killed at New Hope Church on Hunter's advance up the valley. The first Maryland Cavalry and the Baltimore Light Artillery were added to the command. In a few days Colonel Johnson received his commission of Brigadier-General. He made Captain George W. Booth ²⁶ Assistant Adjutant-General of the brigade. We then started on our trip, as we were in advance, we moved rapidly through Winchester, marching on to Shepherdstown.

At Leetown we found about daylight one morning that the Yanks were near, and our regiment was ordered to dismount and throw out a skirmish line, 4th man holding all the dismounted men's horses.

We had not gone far before we were aware of quite a goodly lot of Yanks near at hand. We soon learned who they were. It was General Mulligan with 3,000 infantry and six gun battery, so it was not long before we were right into it, and from daylight to noon we had it hot and heavy, but finally got the best of him and drove him away. Afterwards some of us went into the piece of woods where Mulligan had camped, and found fire burning and plenty of food of all descriptions, some sheep and hogs, all dressed and hanging up on trees, some of the steaks cut off and in the frying pans; so we all had a little lunch, and I opened one of the knapsacks and found some clean underclothes, which I needed, so proceeding to drop my dirty ones for clean ones.

We then went on to Shepherdstown and pushed on rapidly through Sharpsburg to Boonsboro and thence down the National road towards Frederick, and as we had been riding constantly, day and night, for about three weeks, with only halts to give our horses something to eat, we finally reached the top of the mountain overlooking Frederick City, and General Johnson made his headquarters at Hagan's Tavern. I was at that time suffering with waxen kernel in my groin, and it had become so painful that I had been compelled to be carried from my horse into Hagan's and laid on a lounge. The brigade was below in the Valley of the Monocacy,

652 men. *OR* 1, 43, 2, p. 903. William Edmondston (Grumble) Jones (5/9/1824-6/5/1864) had been killed at the Battle of Piedmont, June 5th, 1864. *Battles and Leaders*, (New York, 1888), John B. Imboden, "The Battle of New Market." IV, pp. 480-486.

²⁶ Captain George W. Booth (7/29/1844-1/6/1914) entered the Confederate Service as 1st Lieutenant of company D, 1st Maryland Infantry. When the regiment disbanded, he was made captain and adjutant of the 1st Maryland Cavalry. When the Maryland Line was formed he was assigned to duty as assistant adjutant general. Later he served on the staff of General Johnson and, when the general was assigned to duty in North Carolina, Booth went with him. Captain Booth recorded his experiences in *Personal Reminiscences of a Maryland Soldier in the War Between the States 1861-1865* (Baltimore, 1898); *C.M.H.* II, pp. 205-208 and Dielman File, Md. Hist. Soc.

and during the day they had some sharp fighting. Finally the word came to get ready to move forward. Captain Rasin of Company E said for me to get ready and go back with the lead horses, as an ambulance was ready to take me. I said, Not today, Captain. I hear we are likely to go to Baltimore, and if so, I am going. So a couple of the boys carried me out and put me on my horse and we started down the mountain, and after trotting along for some distance we all started in a run, and the place in my groin broke and went like a pistol, and the contents ran down my leg into my boots. Well, in this condition, we passed through Frederick, to New Windsor, to Westminster, to Reisterstown, and camped on what is now known as Glyndon, on the Dover road, near to Emory Grove Camp Grounds. As soon as we had camped Powell Cockey came to me and invited me to go with him to his home down the Worthington Valley. So off we went and soon sat at his father's table eating breakfast. He also took me up in his room, and with some mutton-tallow fixed my sore spot. We then returned to camp with a bag of biscuits and ham, and late in the afternoon we started towards Baltimore, passing through St. George and down to Carroll's Caves. It was then sundown and we were all tired, having been on the forward march from Frederick down. I had not been long at the Caves when Brother Sam rode into camp, and after finding me asked me to go down and see mother and father, and so I got permission from the General and went with him, and as we were riding out of camp we met Brother Judson Cary Mettam and a lot of the boys from the village, all of them walking some four miles to get a look at some live rebels. So we all went along towards home, which I had left September, 1862, very early in the morning.

When we reached the house I left my horse with two trusty friends, with his head pointed up the road towards camp, and went up the back alleyway and into the kitchen, where I found my dear mother waiting in hopes I would come, but not knowing positively that I would. So after a quiet time with mother I walked into the sitting room and found father and sisters, nieces and nephews, all waiting to see me. I really did not expect such a reception, especially when I was told that within a hundred yards at the United States Arsenal (now the Confederate Home) there were at least a thousand Yankee soldiers, and for all that I took a wash off in the kitchen and put on clean clothes from head to foot, and about midnight I was ready to go. One of my nieces brought her school-bag full of cakes for me to take with me, and on my return to the company to be enjoyed by the boys.

I then bade goodbye to all and started back for the camp at Carroll's Caves. On my way up Garrison Forest road I came to our outer pickets and found they were holding up J. Howard McHenry,²⁷ wife and child, who were seated in their carriage and just returned from a visit to camp to see Mrs. McHenry's two brothers, John and Willie Cary,²⁸ members of our regiment, and I soon straightened things out to the satisfaction of the pickets and bade Mr. and Mrs. McHenry good night and goodbye, not knowing then when, if ever, I would see them again.

I then found out from the pickets that the brigade had left camp and was out on the turnpike near Owings' Mills, and I found them scattered along the turnpike, some lying down and some sitting up in a fence corner, sleeping. So we remained there until daybreak and then made our way through to Painter's Farm, and found the men getting ready to load a car on the siding of the Western Maryland Railroad with freezers of ice-cream for the Baltimore market. So Ned Rich, Powell Cockey, Skinner Quinn and myself took possession of a ten-gallon freezer, and with the cakes I had brought from home, we were soon having a cold free lunch for breakfast. Some of the West Virginia troops that were combined with our brigade had never seen ice-cream, and thought it was frozen mush and dipped it out into their hats and ate it riding along.

We then continued our march out to the Liberty Road, and then down until we struck the Washington road, and upon reaching Beltsville we saw coming up from Washington about five hundred cavalry, and General Johnson ordered Sweeny and myself to ride to the top of a high hill so as to get a good view of them, and then let him know, as we were unable to tell from the distance whether rebels or Yanks. I told Sweeny to ride back and ask General Johnson to come up and put his field glasses on them, which he did. In the meantime they were taking down the fence and going into an open field and deploying their skirmish line for a fight, so General Johnson ordered up the Baltimore Light, and they let go on a few shot and shell (July 12, 1864), dropping a few the first round. They soon made a break and were on their way

²⁷ James Howard McHenry, of "Sudbrook," Pikesville, was born in 1820 and died in 1888. He married Sarah Nicholas Cary, eldest daughter of Wilson Miles Cary. Dielman File, Md. Hist. Soc.

²⁸ John Brune Cary and Wilson Miles Cary, brothers of Hetty Cary, and Mrs. James Howard McHenry, were widely known in Maryland and Virginia following the war. Grandnephews of Thomas Jefferson, both served with distinction in the Confederate Army. Dielman File, Md. Hist. Soc.

to Washington, Captain Bill Nicholas²⁹ at once asked General Johnson for permission to take a squadron and charge them. He finally persuaded the General, and Captain Bill yelled and squadrons E and F fell in line and away we went, about forty of us, after the Yanks. They would wheel around and fire and then away they would go, dropping horse feed and baggage from their horses, and we would give them a fusillade of lead. Finally we shot one of the horses, and as he fell his rider went down with him, but hurriedly got up, jumped the fence, and was making across the field. I tried my best to get a shot at him with my carbine, but my little sorrel mare was so excited that I could not hit him, and finally threw myself from the saddle and, resting my carbine on the fence, let fly just as he jumped behind a hay stack. We continued for several miles further, and finally, when Captain Bill looked around he found that he had only Sweeny and myself with him. The rest of the horses had played out, and no wonder, when we had for weeks been on the go day and night. We were then in sight of the outer breastworks of Washington, and so we turned around and took our way back to the command, but not before we had stopped at a wayside tavern, at the invitation of Captain Bill, and had a drink of whiskey, to regain our nerve power, which had been somewhat exhausted from the effects of our exciting race.

I must say here that the objective point we had expected to make in this special raid was Point Lookout, to relieve our men that were confined there, but as General Johnson was about making his plans he received an order from General Early, who had threatened Washington, to report to him at once. Turning the head of the column towards Washington we caught General Early that night near Blair's House at Silver Spring. We halted at Rockville to feed our horses, and a regiment of Federal cavalry made a charge on us, but fortunately we had enough men ready for them and drove them back with loss, and our regiment, the First Maryland, was ordered to mount and then charge with a rush, and

²⁹ Wilson Cary Nicholas was born in the New York Navy Yard in 1836. He joined company G of the 1st Maryland Infantry in May of 1861. After the regiment disbanded, he was appointed a 1st lieutenant, unattached, in the Confederate Army. In November of 1863 he was assigned as captain and Inspector General to the Maryland Line. Assigned to the 1st Maryland Cavalry in 1864, he was wounded and captured at Rockville. After being confined to several prisons, he was released in February of 1865. Nicholas joined General Lunsford Lomax, commanding in the Valley, and was sent to the 1st Maryland then near Richmond. He arrived the day before the surrender of Lee and was paroled in Richmond. He farmed at Owings Mills for many years. *C.M.H.* II, pp. 363-365 and Dielman File, Md. Hist. Soc.

I remember well how we almost all of us dropped our bridles and with pistol in one hand, sabre in the other, and with our spurs into our horses' flanks, we followed them, yelling like Indians, and as they seemed to be satisfied to get away from us, we concluded to let them go.

From Rockville, still covering the rear of Early's army, our brigade followed them to Poolesville, where during half the day it covered Early, recrossing the Potomac. His trains were long, piled with plunder and large herds of cattle and horses.

The Federals pressed down on our rear guard, but our cavalry held them in check until dark, and the Baltimore Light Artillery fired the last shots as the First Maryland Cavalry were the last troops that crossed the Potomac on Early's withdrawal from Maryland in 1864.

This ride from July 9th to July 13th was probably the longest ride taken during the war. For one hundred and twenty hours we never dismounted except to unsaddle and feed once every twenty-four hours, and of course we ate what we could pick up on the roadside and slept in our saddles.³⁰

After crossing the river our brigade followed General Early to Winchester, and in a short time to Martinsburg. From that point General Early dispatched General McCausland³¹ with his brigade and Johnson's brigade to demand a contribution from Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, in retaliation for the burning of the houses of Honorable Alexander P. Boteler,³² Andrew Hunter³³ and Edward

³⁰ Additional accounts of Johnson's ride to Baltimore may be found in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XXX, p. 215-225, My Ride Around Baltimore in 1864, Bradley T. Johnson; *The Maryland Line*, W. W. Goldsborough (Baltimore, 1869), pp. 249-250, 323-324; *Four Years in the Saddle*, Harry Gilmor (New York, 1866), pp. 184-204.

³¹ John McCausland (9/13/1836-11/22/1927) graduated from the Virginia Military Institute in 1857 and the University of Virginia in 1858. He taught for several years at V.M.I. In 1861 he raised the 36th Virginia Infantry and went into service as its colonel. After the death of General A. G. Jenkins, he was promoted to command his brigade of cavalry. As part of Rosser's division, he lived up to the reputation he had made for daring and cut his way out of the Federal ring around Appomattox. After several years abroad, he returned to West Virginia and purchased an estate of 6000 acres where he spent the rest of his long life: *Generals in Gray*, pp. 197-198.

³² Alexander Robinson Boteler (5/16/1815-5/8/1892) made his home at Fountain Rock near Shepherdstown. In 1859 he was in the United States House of Representatives and was elected in 1861 to the Confederate Provisional Congress. Boteler also served as volunteer aide on the staff of Stonewall Jackson and of Jeb Stuart. From 1882 to 1889 he served in the U.S. Department of Justice. His home was burned by order of General David Hunter on July 19, 1864: *DAB*, II, pp. 467-468.

³³ Andrew Hunter was a first cousin of Union General David Hunter who ordered the destruction of his home in the suburbs of Charlestown. By his orders, Mr. Hunter, a Virginia State Senator, was held for a month in the

Lee³⁴ at Shepherdstown and Charlestown a short time before.³⁵

He sent a written demand on the authorities of Chambersburg for \$100,000.00 in gold and \$500,000.00 in greenbacks for the purpose of indemnifying these losses from General Hunters' barbarities, or, in default of payment, he ordered the town to be burned. The expedition started July 29th and reached Chambersburg on the 30th. McCausland then sought the town authorities but they had fled. He then caused the Courthouse bell to be rung to call together a town meeting to make his demand known to them, but the panic-stricken people would not trust themselves to a conference with "rebels." They would not believe, and were not slow in saying that the rebels would never dare to burn the town because they were afraid to do so. This was really the tone assumed by the people of Chambersburg that morning. Finding delay useless and dangerous, McCausland set fire to the Courthouse, which made a flaming beacon of fast coming disaster, and in five minutes it was ablaze from twenty different points. We were then withdrawn from the town and started for Virginia.

We moved up to Cumberland, but finding General Kelly³⁶ there with a force too strong for us, we turned off and recrossed the Potomac at Old Town in Hampshire county (now West Virginia), thence to New Creek on the B. & O. Railroad, where we found quite a strong force and the place well fortified, a block house having been built, and also, on the platform of a freight

guard house without charges. While thus confined, his kinsman had his home burned without allowing his family time to remove their personal effects from the home. *The Blue and the Gray*, edited by Henry Steele Commager, (New York, 1950) II, 1042; Imboden, *Fire, Sword and the Halter*.

³⁴ Edmund J. Lee and his wife, Henrietta Bedinger Lee, made their home at Bedford. When General David Hunter ordered it burned, she fled with her two small children and the servants. She penned to Hunter the famous letter calling eternal curses upon his head. Edmund J. Lee was a near kinsman of General Robert E. Lee. His age prevented him from serving in the army and he was not a politician. *Heroines of Dixie*, Katherine M. Jones (New York, 1955), pp. 309-312.

³⁵ The burning of Chambersburg was General Jubal Early's idea, as he recorded in his *Memoir of the Last Year of the War for Independence*, published in Lynchburg in 1867, p. 67, "in the way of retaliation." In *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Vol. 31, p. 266-270, General John McCausland, selected by Early to burn the city, states his version of the affair and lists more of the incidents that made Early decide to retaliate. Also in Volume 37 of those papers, Fielder C. Slingluff of the 1st Maryland Cavalry records his memories of that expedition on pages 152-163.

³⁶ Benjamin Franklin Kelley (4/10/1807-7/17/1891) in 1826 came with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at Wheeling. At the onset of the war he raised a regiment which he led at Philippi in 1861. For most of the war he was assigned to the Department of West Virginia and charged with the defense of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. He died at Oakland, Maryland. *Lamb's Biographical Dictionary of the United States* (Boston, 1901), IV, 490.

car there was a regular iron clad battery with two guns mounted and a shifting engine attached, and they would move this machine up and down the tracks and fire at will, at the same time protecting the ford, at which point we wanted to cross, being a branch of the Potomac.

General Johnson took in the situation and concluded to attempt to silence the infernal machine, so he ordered up the Baltimore Light Artillery and asked Lieutenant McNulty³⁷ to do his best to stop it, and after one or two shots he sent a solid shot right through its vital part and stopped its active firing afterwards, and at the same time our regiment was ordered to cross the ford at this juncture, and as we were to some extent protected by artillery, we succeeded in crossing and made a charge on the camp, followed up by the artillery, until we had driven the Yanks out from their stronghold and taken possession, finding it well stored with all kinds of provisions and supplies of all descriptions.

We supplied our wants with what we most needed and then destroyed the balance.

We then proceeded to Moorefield in Hardy county, West Virginia, where we went into camp on the sixth of August, 1864. Our lines were made, the camps pitched and pickets posted according to the orders of General McCausland, the commanding officer. Colonel Harry Gilmor³⁸ was placed in command of the First and Second Maryland, and we were all camped on the Romney road. McCausland had gone over on the other side of the South Branch of the Potomac. General Johnson remained on this side, making his headquarters in Van Meter's house. The first detachment for picket duty was then made, and Lieutenant Fielder C. Slingluff³⁹ in charge. The detail was from Companies E and F, composed of

³⁷ 1st Lieutenant John R. McNulty, 2nd Maryland Artillery, the Baltimore Light, is frequently mentioned in Goldsborough's *The Maryland Line*.

³⁸ Colonel Harry Gilmor (1/24/1838-3/4/1883) was born in Baltimore County, Maryland. He joined the Ashby Cavalry where he was conspicuous for his daring. In May of 1863 he raised a battalion of horse that later became the 2nd Maryland Cavalry. Gilmor made a name for himself as a raider. After the war he spent several years abroad before returning to Baltimore. In 1874 he was elected police commissioner of Baltimore. His Book, *Four Years in the Saddle*, was published in 1866. Dielman File, Md. Hist. Soc.

³⁹ Fielder Cross Slingluff (6/16/1842-5/20/1918) graduated from Yale University in 1861. Before leaving Yale he ran the stars and bars of the Confederacy to the top of Yale Chapel flagpole and securely locked the door leading to the flagpole before leaving for his Maryland home. Slingluff first enlisted in the 2nd Virginia Cavalry and in 1863 helped to organize Company F of the 1st Md. Cavalry which he entered as a second lieutenant. As reported by Mettam, he was captured at Moorefield and remained a prisoner of war at Camp Chase until early in 1865. For many years he was a prominent attorney in Baltimore. *C.M.H.*, II, 395-387 and Dielman File, Md. Hist. Soc.

twelve men; among them were myself (H. C. Mettam), George Sweeny, and four others from our Company E (I cannot now remember their names) and six from Company F. Among them was Carl Kauffman, whom I remember very well as a very large man and a good soldier, as he and I were sent out on the relief at four o'clock in the morning (we were surprised by General Averell).⁴⁰ From the time we were sent out to do picket duty from headquarters we had never heard a word nor received any instructions or food, and finally on the fourth day Lieutenant Slingluff sent one of the men (Billy Boone) into camp for instructions and food, as we had been getting what we could to eat from the houses in the vicinity of the post and paying for it out of our pockets. The messenger never returned, and when at four o'clock, after a drizzling rain all day, which made the dirt road in such a condition that you could not hear the sound of horses' feet, and also the fog was so dense that it was impossible to see your hand in front of you, and we had not gone half a mile when three cavalrymen rode in between us, put pistols to our heads and said, "You are prisoners." You can judge of our feelings at that time. We were hurried to the rear and brought to General Averell, who asked us all kinds of questions, how many men in the Confederate command and where are they, &c, &c, all of which we declined to say and told him he must go on and find out. Of course before they reached us they had necessarily taken the outer pickets and then it was easy to come on and take us. So then they captured our reserve, including Lieutenant Slingluff. Day was then breaking by that time and we were huddled together and kept under guard while General Averell and his command went into the fight. We could hear the guns and racket of the battle, and to think that they had no warning so as to be somewhat prepared for it. General Bradley Johnson barely escaped being captured. I was told that some one saw him coming out from Van Meter's house and gave him his horse, and he by that means was saved, but the man who gave up his horse went to prison with the rest of us, in all, about three hundred.

Well, after the battle was over and the prisoners brought back

⁴⁰ William Woods Averell (11/5/1832-2/3/1900) graduated from West Point in 1857 and was seriously wounded fighting the Navahoes on the frontier. In August of 1861 he was appointed colonel of the 3rd Pennsylvania Cavalry and entrusted with command of the Washington defenses. March of 1863 found him a brigadier and he soon thereafter started on the series of raids in western Virginia and the Valley that should have won him enduring fame as a soldier. Some of the brightest pages of the cavalry war were written by Averell. He entered private industry after the war. *D.A.B.*, I, 441-443.

we started back towards New Creek. The first night we were all put in a cattle pen in the field with a high fence and cavalry placed thick around us. The next morning we were started on the march, we who had always been used to be mounted on our good horses now on foot, and during that all day march we had nothing to eat except green apples which the guards would knock off from the trees along the road with their sabres, and then after eating them drink water out of a brook running across the road after many of the horses had gone up the stream and stirred it up. We finally arrived at New Creek about midnight, and we were promised plenty to eat when we reached there, but when we were ordered to rest I lay down for rest and sleep, hungry as I was, but many of the boys stayed around for their rations, and next morning when I awoke I found some bread and meat tucked under me by some of the boys. We then were loaded in freight cars and taken to Wheeling where we were placed in a large building. I can not remember whether it was a jail or only a hall, but we were drawn up in line and ordered to march around to a window, and there we received a tin of coffee and bread, and after that we all lay down as best we could on the floor and slept till morning, when we were loaded on freight cars and taken to Columbus, Ohio, and then marched out to Camp Chase, four miles from Columbus, arriving there about August 13th. We were then taken into what was termed a bull pen. Soon after reaching there we were assigned to barracks with bunks built each side, with an aisle running front to back, and the bunks were built three tiers deep, and each bunk was to accommodate four for sleeping.

In the rear room was the kitchen with large range with perhaps a dozen or more holes, and each mess of eight or ten would have a kettle holding about four gallons, and that was our only cooking utensil. I soon became acquainted with many of the boys outside of our company and regiment, and a mess was formed, and among them was one from a West Virginia regiment by the name of Strausburg, and we became chums. We would get up early in the morning and take a walk around the "Bull Pen" for an hour or more. The walk was where the wagons came in to deliver rations and fuel to each of the barracks, the barracks being built in two rows, I think about twenty of them, and between the barracks and high fence which surrounded the prison, this drive was made and between this drive and fence was a deep ditch about four feet from the fence and on the fence was a parapet with a walk for the guards, and any one that stepped over that ditch or deadline, as it was called, was shot.

We had our rations delivered about eleven o'clock each day, consisting of beef, potatoes and bread; this came in quantities inside the pen to the Commissary Department and there divided and brought to each barracks and then divided to each mess, and by the time each person received his portion the meat was about a quarter of a pound, or less, perhaps three potatoes, and an army loaf of bread cut into six pieces, each receiving one-sixth. This was a day's rations and, as a rule, was eaten up as one meal, and wait then twenty-four hours for another. So you can imagine we were not overfed.

I remember on one occasion we were issued corn meal, being in retaliation for some given their men in Southern prisons, a pint each, and I assure you it was more acceptable than the wheat bread, for it went three times as far; also dried white lake fish and white potatoes, so we were in a quandary for a while how to cook it. I then suggested to boil the fish, pick out all the bones, boil the potatoes and remove the skins, then put on our kettle, get the water boiling, stir in the corn meal until cooked, then stir in the fish and potatoes, and when all was well mixed for us to make arrangements with some men who had built a small oven in one part of the ground, to bake it. We borrowed their large bake pan, poured in the mess, put it into the oven, and in due course of time we took it out and it was beautiful and brown and we divided it between us six, comprising our mess, and each of us got a piece 6 x 6 three inches thick, and we each had a square meal or fill, and kept a little over for our evening meal.

One time I kept a little for a morning meal and put it under my head, and during the night some one stole it, so I then concluded to eat what I got at one meal and wait the twenty-four hours, as I had been doing.

Some of our boys in walking around the pen came in the neighborhood of the Commissary Department and saw a good sized cat, looking nice and fat and apparently had been filled with food that should have been ours, so one of them laid plans to capture the cat and did so one night, and after slaughtering the said cat, skinned and cleaned it the same as rabbit, put it down in salt and water over night, and then with a few onions and potatoes made a stew and we six had a square meal and thoroughly enjoyed it, but I have never been able to eat rabbit since.

Talking in this line about eating and scant rations, when men are hungry they will eat most anything to keep life in them, and I have seen men gather up bones from the open sewer that ran through the pen, take stones and break them, then put them in

a little pot and boil until what little grease was in them came to the top, skim it off and put into a little tin can and spread on their bread.

Before we arrived at the prison we were told that there had been a sutler's establishment so you could buy most anything to eat, but as soon as the prison authorities heard that some three hundred Marylanders were coming they had it closed.

We were all getting a little tired of the confinement and concluded that we would formulate some plan of escape, and finally it was suggested that we would dig out. So we had a committee appointed, and, after some discussion, concluded to open up a hole in the kitchen of our barracks, and by taking up the bricks in front of the range, which was about four feet square, then dig down about four feet and continue to tunnel out towards the outer fence, as our barracks were last in the row, and hence could the sooner get outside. We dug down some four feet and then with case knives started for the fence, and as soon as we got the hole large enough one of us would lie on our backs and dig with two knives. We had a small box which we would load with the earth, and then the man at the other end would haul it towards the mouth and another lift it out, another take it and pack it under our berths. We kept this up for about two or three weeks and were about getting near the outside of the fence when about midnight in came the officer of the guard with a squad of soldiers and ordered all out of the bunks and from the hole and then marched the lot out in the cold and put us to work getting out the dirt we had piled away and put it back where it belonged, with the threat that we should not have a mouthful of food until it was finished. Dick Strausburg and I were in the top bunk and escaped the vigilant eyes, and hence did not do any of the work of filling up, and we thought we had done our part in helping dig the hole.

We tried several times afterwards but never could succeed, and concluded there must be some one who informed on us for pay of some kind. Even in prison there were traitors.

Finally the time came for us to go out the way we came in, through the big gate, and some fifteen hundred were paroled for sixty days unless sooner exchanged, and about the first part of March, 1865, we were loaded on cars and started for Baltimore, Maryland, and on our way down the train we were on crossed a portion of the Cheat River Bridge, which had been burned by our men some time before and which had been rebuilt temporarily with pine trees as uprights, and as we looked out the freight car doors we could scarcely see the bottom and our old train shook

and swayed as we crossed. We finally arrived in Baltimore—Mount Clare—and from there we marched to Fort McHenry, where we spent the night. I had written to my father that we would be at Fort McHenry about that time and he came down to see me, and I saw them going up and down looking for me, and finally he came and asked me if Harry Mettam was in the bunch. He did not know me, but he soon knew me, and was so excited he handed me some money and bade me goodbye and left. We went into the barracks there for the night and were fed on bread and salt horse. During the night there came up a terrible blow, and it looked at one time as if it would blow the building down.

Morning came at last and we were marched on board the old steamer VIRGINIA, and started for old Virginia. We sailed up the James river to Aikens Landing where we anchored, as the fleet of Commodore Porter was there waiting for the President (Abe Lincoln) to come down from Washington, to review it. Finally the steamer, LADY OF THE LAKE,⁴¹ hove in sight with Lincoln and party on board, the Commodore's launch, manned by a complement of sailors, went from the flagship to the LADY OF THE LAKE, and Lincoln was put in the stern and passed right by our old ship, and he had such long legs, as he sat all cramped up his knees were about his ears.

As soon as he went aboard the flagship, the flag, which had been put up into a round ball, was cast to the breeze, the band struck up, "Hail to the Chief," and then a salute of so many guns was given for the President, and the concussion was so great that it shattered many of the panes of glass in our steamer.

Well, that was over and we were steaming up the James River to Richmond. We soon arrived at City Point and were landed and marched through inspection by the Commissioners of Exchange, Major Ould⁴² of our side, and some Federal officers. As we marched along the band struck up from on board the steamer that came to take us to the city, "Home Again from a Foreign Shore," and we gave a yell and off we went into a double quick and we were soon aboard the steam tugs, &c., and ladies to wait upon us with good things to eat and drink, as we steamed up to the city dock. We

⁴¹ This charming glimpse of Lincoln is detailed in Volume 4 of Sandburg's *Abraham Lincoln, The War Years*, (New York, 1939) pages 140-150. According to Mr. Sandburg the steamer on which Lincoln traveled was the 'River Queen.'

⁴² Colonel Robert Ould (1/31/1820-12/18/1881) was born in Georgetown and graduated from the law school at William and Mary in 1842. Under Judah P. Benjamin, he was assistant secretary of War. In July of 1862, he was appointed Confederate Agent of Exchange. After the war, Secretary Stanton had him tried for treason but he was acquitted. He practiced law in Richmond until his death. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, XIX.

then marched up town and out to Camp Lee, where we were formally paroled (and my paper is locked up in my tin box).

We were back home again with our own dear people, and very glad to be with them, and once more on dear old Virginia soil. We had not been there many days when a half dozen of us concluded to start for Maryland, get money, and return to Virginia, buy horses and get into the army again. We started for Westmoreland, and soon after arriving made arrangements with two boatmen to row us across the Potomac river. In the party was Billy Boone, Jess Edelin, Sam Lancaster, Billy Price, Tom Brawner and myself. When we had gotten about half way across they spied a gunboat and wanted to turn back, and we had to draw our pistols to compel them to go on. We finally landed at Chaptico, St. Mary's county. The rest of the boys either lived in St. Mary's or Charles counties and they made for home, while I was from Baltimore county, north of Baltimore city, so I concluded to call on my father's old friend, Mark B. Chun, who had a son in the Southern army.

It was now about midnight and I went over to his house and roused him up and soon explained my position. So he gave me pen, ink, and paper and I wrote to Father to send me money so I could go back to Virginia, purchase a horse and follow the army wherever they proposed to make a stand, as just before we left Westmoreland we had news that Richmond had been evacuated, and Lee with his army was moving south.

In a few days I got a letter from Father telling me that Lincoln had been killed, the Potomac river was blockaded, and Booth, who had shot Lincoln, was supposed to be making his way through Charles and St. Mary's counties, and cavalry was following him, and I had better remain where I was until the excitement was quelled and I could see my way clear to come home.

The next day my friend, Mr. Chun, brought me a copy of the tri-weekly "American" and that gave me a full account of what was going on, regarding the shooting of Lincoln at Ford's Theatre in Washington by Wilkes Booth, the actor, and Booth had escaped by way of Alexandria and had crossed the Potomac, &c., and that Richmond had been evacuated by our forces, &c.

I then came to the conclusion that I must stay in the woods until quiet came, which I did. One night I was lying quietly rolled up in my blanket, about ready to go to sleep, when I heard the tramp of cavalry and the clanking of sabres as they rushed along, with shouts. I quickly gathered up my few belongings and made for the inner woods, where I knew that horses could not follow me, and spent the balance of the night there. I found out after-

wards they were hunting for Booth, as it was reported he had made his way down that section.

So finally, after spending about a month in the woods, I concluded that I would try to make my way home, after hearing of the surrender of General Lee at Appomattox.

So Mr. Chun hunted up a suit of clothes belonging to his son, John, (who, by the way, was in the Southern Army) so I dressed myself as best I could, went up to Charlotte Hall, and took the stage coach for Washington, D. C., where I arrived about seven o'clock p.m., and at once went to the B. & O. depot, which was draped very heavily in mourning (for Lincoln), and soldiers marching up and down, and it made me feel a little shaky, so I finally bought my ticket, found my way into a Baltimore train and took a seat in the smoker, thinking I would be less observed. Just before the train started a man of good appearance and dress took a seat beside me and offered me a cigar, which I accepted. After we had gotten some little distance from Washington this gentleman threw a lot of newspapers out of the window to a lot of soldiers standing near the track, and from the slight view as we passed looked to me as a camp, so I concluded he was not one of my fellows, and some little time afterwards he fell off to sleep and I thought best to move into another car, which I did.

The train finally arrived in Baltimore—Camden Station, about 8 o'clock, and I soon made my way up into the city and went directly to the old "Hand House," Paca street, where Brother Sam always put up his team, and thought perhaps he or some of the people from Pikesville would be there, but they had gone, so I went around on Lexington street to Harry Baider's Barber shop and found John Schultze there, and I got him to cut my hair, give me a shave and polish my boots, the same that I took from one of Custer's Aids after a fight at Trevilians, and when I had settled for all I had ten cents left. I did not make myself known to John as I was afraid he might talk to others, and I started out Paca Street and down to Pennsylvania Avenue, and out Pennsylvania avenue, and after walking some distance felt very thirsty, and stopped at a pump sitting back from the street and took a good drink out of an iron ladle. I then proceeded out and finally struck the turnpike, and when I reached the foot of Brown's hill, at the culvert, I was getting pretty tired, and my boots being a little large and heavy, I found my feet getting sore. So I took off my boots and tried it barefoot, but soon found that would not go, so I finally pulled them on again and started. I finally reached the Three Mile House, which was kept by Buffington when I left home in 1862, and supposing

he was still there I tried my best to arouse some one, as it was then long past midnight. Not succeeding I lay myself down on the porch bench and got a nap, but it had been raining and got quite cool, being the early part of May, and finally, when daylight came I was roused up and found myself pretty cold.

The door was finally opened, and when I walked inside I found that a big negro had been lying on the floor quite near the door, wrapped up in blankets, and did not hear any banging.

The first go off I hunted for my ten cents, and told the barkeeper I wanted ten cents worth of whiskey, as I had walked from Baltimore and reached here after everything was closed and had to sleep on the porch bench, and when I inquired if Buffington still kept the hotel, he said they had gone up county for a couple of years.

I sat down to rest up so as to proceed on my journey out to my old home in Pikesville, as I was anxious to see Mother and Father and all again. Just then Tom Brown a calf butcher that I had known since I was a boy, came up and I knew him at once, but of course he did not recognize me. Without saying who I was I asked him if he could give me a seat to Pikesville. He said, No, his wagon was not very strong and he could not take me. I then said to him, Tom Brown, I am Harry Mettam, Sam's brother, just back from the Confederate Army, and do you refuse me now? He grabbed and hugged me and insisted on me having something to drink, and then hurried me into his calf wagon, and away we went as fast as the horse could go, and when we drove into Pikesville he took me direct to Brother Sam's, who was then keeping store, and when Sam saw me he grabbed me and took me back into the dining room, and the first question was, How is it you are here, and under what conditions, &c. I told him I had come home clean and fair and was still an unreconstructed "rebel." He grabbed me and said, That is all right, boy, I only wanted to know. Then I made for the old home and Mother and Father, Brother Judson, Kate, &c., and then I was for a while the real thing, and was feasted and petted and almost spoiled.

It was quite a while before I could sleep on a feather pillow, and Mother had to make me a straw pillow, which I had used for a long time.

Your Affectionate Father

(signed) HARRY C. METTAM

3308 Walbrook Ave.

Nov. 3rd 1912

THE METTAM FAMILY

Reverend Joseph Mettam, born in Mount Sorrel, England in 1805, died in Pikesville, Maryland in 1888.

Ruth Barker Mettam, his wife, born in Chesterfield, England in 1803 and died in Pikesville, Maryland in 1897.

Their Children were—

Samuel Barker Mettam born in England in 1826, died in Pikesville in 1903 and married Wilhemina Ford.

Joseph Mettam, 1826-1836.

William Laws Mettam 1830-1860 buried in August, Kent, England.

Allen Mettam 1832-1834.

Alice Barker Mettam 1835- no date available.

James Smith Mettam 1837 - 1838.

Anne Turner Mettam 1/8/1840 - 2/6/1841.

Judson Cary Mettam 1/4/1846 - 1893, married Maria Jane Cole.

Catherine Louisa Mettam 10/9/1848-6/7/1929 (Mrs. Philip Watts).

Henry Clay Mettam 1844-1929. Married Anna Marie Bartley, 1857-1929 of Philadelphia.

Their children were—

Joshua Bartley Mettam 1875-1944, issue

Matilda Whitely Mettam 1877-1952.

Annette Mettam 1879- (Mrs. Louis J. Burleigh), issue

Emma Landstreet Mettam 1881-1882

Marian Mettam Shaffer 1885-1935, issue

Ruth Mettam 1882-1882.

Rosamund Mettam Batts 1887-1960.

Charlotte Mettam Dick 1891-

COVER PICTURE

SOCIETY PLANS MAJOR EXPANSION

Under the terms of bequests, which total about \$2,600,000, from the late William S. and John L. Thomas, brothers, the Maryland Historical Society is planning a major addition to the Keyser Memorial Building, its present headquarters. To be erected on Monument Street, west of its present quarters, the new structure will be known as the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building. Approximately half of the gift will be used for construction, while the remainder will be reserved as an endowment fund toward the maintenance of the building.

The three-story and basement structure will be of red brick trimmed with white marble or limestone and will incorporate architectural features in keeping with the atmosphere of nearby Mount Vernon Place.

A street-level entrance will open into an exhibition area larger than the Society's present main gallery. To the right will be an auditorium provided with modern audio-visual equipment. Also on the ground floor will be sorely needed office, workroom and storage space. A staff room and kitchen will facilitate the entertaining of large gatherings of guests.

A Thomas and Hugg Memorial Room will occupy the center front of the main, or second, floor. This will be used for exhibition purposes, Council meetings, and gatherings of small groups. On this floor, too, will be offices, workrooms and additional exhibition and storage space.

To supplement the Society's present Confederate Room, a Civil War Union Room will be on the third floor as the result of a generous gift by Mr. Ernest A. Howard, historian of the Cecil County Historical Society. Items for exhibition there are accumulating. A meeting room for allied societies will also be on this level, and space will be provided for their records as well as for general storage. The basement level will almost entirely be given over to the Society's maritime collection.

An important element in the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building will be a new manuscripts division. Located between the exhibition corridors and the present north wall of the library, it will have a search room with three carrels on the main level and two stack levels below. The transfer of manuscript holdings from the present library stacks to the new stack levels is expected to allow space for future book storage. Other new facilities will include a manuscripts repair room, a painting restoration room and a general repair shop. The entire building will be fireproof, air-conditioned, and humidity-controlled. Elevator service will be provided.

Flanking the main entrance will be two large garden areas, and west of the new building will be a landscaped plaza for off-street alighting from vehicles which will be parked elsewhere. Included in the expansion plans, but paid for with the general funds of the Society, will be improved maintenance of the Keyser Memorial Building and the planting of trees and shrubs around the parking lot at the rear.

With the erection of the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building approximately 47,500 square feet of floor space will be added to the facilities of the Society, thus making possible the effective display of many collections now partially or wholly in storage. It is believed that the manuscripts division will expedite research and publication from holdings known to be rich, and that the auditorium will allow the holding of more meetings and more varied programs. As extensive as the improvements will be, ample space will remain for still further expansion.

H. R. M.

SIDELIGHTS

DR. JAMES B. STANSBURY

By FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

One of the primary sources of information about Captain Thomas Boyle's three voyages in the private armed schooner *Comet* during the War of 1812 is an anonymous logbook.¹ Internal evidence suggests that Dr. James B. Stansbury, the surgeon aboard the *Comet*, kept this eye-witness account of Boyle's forays against the British and their merchantmen. At the time of the publication of the logbook several years ago, Dr. Stansbury could not be identified further. Recently, however, some material has come to light which verifies the original assumptions about the logbook and yields biographical data about its author.²

Dr. James B. Stansbury was not a medical doctor. He was, rather, a pharmacist who owned a drug store at Fell's Point, Baltimore. As such, the entries in the last several pages of the logbook which relate to the sales of drugs, medicines, and store fixtures in 1837 indicate Dr. Stansbury's background.³

Stansbury was born about 1785. The place of his birth is not known. He had, apparently, come to Baltimore early in his life and established himself as a merchant. His career was interrupted by the War of 1812, and following the war, he married on January 11, 1815, Ann, the daughter of Colonel Joseph Biays.⁴ By this marriage he had seven children: Alfred M., Dickson, Charles, Edward, George, James, and Joseph.⁵

Stansbury had a varied war career. Sometime before the outbreak of hostilities, he had sailed from Baltimore in the ship *Han-*

¹ Frank F. White, Jr., "The *Comet* Harasses the British," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, (December, 1958), LIII, pp. 295-314.

² I am grateful to John B. Mahool, Jr., of Washington for his interest in Dr. Stansbury. He discovered the information in the course of his preparation of a genealogy of the Biays family.

³ Information supplied by Mr. Mahool.

⁴ Baltimore County Marriage License Records, 1803-1815, p. 265. Hall of Records, Annapolis.

⁵ "Charles H. Stansbury," in *History of Champaign County, Ohio*, II, by E. P. Middleton, pp. 177-181. National Society Daughters of the American Revolution Library, Washington, D.C., 1917.

nibal destined for France with a cargo of coffee. While he was on the high seas, the British blockading squadron captured his vessel and confiscated it and his cargo, leaving him penniless and suffering heavy losses. Sometime prior to June of 1812, the British had returned him to the United States. He determined to take revenge upon his captors, and consequently joined Captain Boyle's company on board the *Comet*.⁶ The story of Boyle's exploits aboard the *Comet* and the *Chasseur* in which Stansbury participated have been told elsewhere.⁷ While he was aboard the latter ship, Boyle issued his proclamation blockading the British coast which Stansbury signed as Boyle's secretary.⁸

After the close of the war, Stansbury returned to Baltimore. There he seems to have remained for twenty years. His wife Ann died about 1836, and in the next year, he married Elizabeth Rawleigh at whose home he had boarded after Ann's death.⁹ Shortly after this second marriage, the entire family left Baltimore for Urbana, Illinois, where he remained until his death at the age of seventy-six years on January 15, 1860.¹⁰ At his death, the local newspaper said that Doctor Stansbury "was truly a gentleman of the 'olden time,' frank, plain, modest, graceful and dignified in all his intercourse with the world. His memory will be cherished by his friends and neighbors on account of his exemplary deportment, his consistent life and undeviating integrity." He was survived by three children of his second marriage: Marcus, Theodore, and Lambert.¹¹

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

⁷ White, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-315. The log of the *Chasseur* is printed in *Md. Hist. Mag.*, I (1906), pp. 168-180, 218-240.

⁸ *Niles' Weekly Register*, January 7, 1815.

⁹ Baltimore County Marriage License Records, 1832-1839, p. 221. Hall of Records.

¹⁰ The entries in the logbook dealing with the sales of store fixtures, etc., in 1837, would indicate that Stansbury made them as he was preparing to leave Baltimore.

¹¹ Middleton, *loc. cit.*, p. 178.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

John Pendleton Kennedy: Gentleman from Baltimore. By CHARLES H. BOHNER. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1961. x, 266. \$5.50.

As Mr. Bohner approached the task of writing John Pendleton Kennedy's biography, he might well have been dismayed by the amount of source material confronting him. However, Kennedy's untarnished charm, his complexity of character and versatility had already captured Mr. Bohner's imagination, and he bent enthusiastically to the task of digging through the vast deposits of Kennediana in the library of the Peabody Institute in Baltimore and elsewhere. To readers who prefer the modern technique whereby the biographer rushes at his subject, tears off his clothes, points out physical defects, hurls him on a couch and listens eagerly for "escapes," Mr. Bohner's courteous well-mannered approach, in which one occasionally catches faint echoes of Kennedy's admirable style, suggests that he at least tolerates Kennedy's pronouncement that "it is the biographer's duty to turn the virtues of an illustrious man to the best account The faults of a good man are but transient blemishes which quickly fade from view."

At any rate, from his prolonged immersion in the life story and the times of Kennedy, Mr. Bohner emerges as an admirer, a friend of his subject, and proceeds to draw a portrait as ingratiating as those by Tilyard and Hubard which grace his book. He stresses Kennedy's determination, even as a school boy, to be a writer—a determination which ripened with time into a *leit-motif* of his life—a firm belief that a literary career could successfully coexist with the life of politics and business.

Baltimore, at the time Kennedy decided to leave his Virginian family circle and seek his fortunes in the city, was a raw, blatantly commercial town growing rich too fast for its good, and young Kennedy's literary ideals had a hard time of it. He never abandoned them, however, and all through the fierce political and industrial turmoil which engaged his energies he continued to gather notes and develop a sinewy, trenchant style against the day when he could satisfy his ambition to become a successful novelist.

Then, as now, Baltimore abounded in prosperous business men who, having grown rich, felt they could afford the luxury of a dip into the humanities. Kennedy saw that beneath the pretentiousness of these men was "an aspect of American culture not consciously literary but actively interested in the arts," and (born conciliator that he was) he often succeeded in bending the power of the businessmen to the service of the causes he was interested in. A notable example of this was his success in bringing Poe to a measure of contemporary recognition, and in inducing Mr. Peabody to reconsider his decision to abandon the plans which, under Kennedy's guidance, flowered into the Peabody Institute.

It is beyond the scope of this review to do more than hint at Kennedy's steady rise to high position in the national political scene, and his quiet assumption of authority in the country's literary life.* His dual ambition had come measurably near to realization. Complex to a degree, the story is told with sympathy and skill by Mr. Bohner. He disclaims correctly the idea that Kennedy was a genius. In the mass of Kennedy's writings I doubt if Mr. Bohner has found a single line to stir that feeling of awe with which one salutes the highest art. Kennedy's claim to greatness, however, seems justifiable if one reads the long list of important achievements well done. Those who insinuate that, well-born and affluent, he was inclined to take the easy way, should be reminded of the courageous political decision of his youth, his manly acceptance of certain domestic situations which kept him from becoming the world citizen he would have liked to be, and his support of the Union, to the unspeakable disgust of friends and family. Kennedy knew, and practised, that great article of the gentleman's code—renunciation.

J. GILMAN D'ARCY PAUL

Baltimore, Md.

Baltimore's Music. The Haven of the American Composer. By LUBOV KEEFER. Baltimore, 1962. xvii, 343. \$2.50.

Dr. Keefer has devoted over ten years to the development of this encyclopedia—for it is no less—of music in Baltimore during the past two centuries.

* Kennedy numbered among his close friends some of the outstanding men of letters in England. The persistent rumor that he wrote a chapter of *The Virginians* is still heard, but the facts seem to be that he supplied Thackeray with information regarding the men and customs of early Virginia which the English author could not have been expected to know.

A tireless worker, Dr. Keefer has proved herself a musical archaeologist in unearthing every artifact of musical content in Baltimore's history. As a matter of fact, the first music of any note in the state was produced in Annapolis where, in the 1740's, the "Tuesday Club" came into being, adopting the motto, "Fiddlers, Fools, and Farces." The members were all recruited from the gentry of the neighborhood, and some claimed astounding musical versatility; for example, one Henry Callister was considered a "virtuoso" on the violin, oboe, spinet, flute and cello. A veritable one-man symphony orchestra!

Dr. Keefer's book unfolds into an elaborate recording of Baltimore's musical entertainers, composers, publishers, concert halls, and orchestras. It catches the moments of enthusiasm of the mid-nineteenth century when Baltimore lost its heart to those eminent visitors who gave it a taste of their artistic brilliance—Ole Bull, Jenny Lind, Adelina Patti, and Leopold de Meyer.

A number of chapters are devoted to the birth and development of the Peabody Institute. The heart of the book is focused on the ascending fortunes of this superior conservatory and on its great director, Asgar Hamerik. Hamerik became the Peabody's guiding star in 1870, and for more than two decades sent its musical reputation spiralling upwards, with the development of a sound faculty and the introduction of impressive series of concerts by eminent performers.

Dr. Keefer writes with such brilliance of phrase and with such sly touches of humor that one is surprised to learn that the degree of Doctor of Philosophy which she acquired at John Hopkins University was not in English literature. (It was in German!)

A note of warning: Her book is not for the casual reader, but for the serious student. It contains so much "meat" that one wonders why she did not develop more items in detail in the text itself rather than in her copious notes, and make a two-volume history instead of compressing everything into a book of less than 300 pages in text. Had that been done, it might have given her the opportunity to elaborate on a few human interest sketches which are known to some Baltimoreans but not to a wide number: the birth and popularizing of "Maryland My Maryland"; the prolific compositions of Henry Dielman, uncle of the beloved Louis Dielman whose memory will be forever associated with the library of the Historical Society; the figure of hoary-haired, gray-moustached Lazarus Fisher, who conducted the musicians in the pit of Ford's Theatre for countless years; the prodigious group of martial musicians whom Lazarus's son, Louis Fisher, was able to weld

together in World War I as Pershing's Band, and who would have made Louis rank with the greatest bandmasters in America if the boys hadn't become too homesick when the war was over, there-upon breaking up what would have been a national institution.

Dr. Keefer could give us much additional pleasure by penning these and other musical tidbits in detail. We hope that one of these days she'll do it.

LESTER S. LEVY

Pikesville, Md.

William Goddard, Newspaperman. By WARD L. MINER. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1962. vii, 223. \$6.

Conclusions previously made by Lawrence C. Wroth and Joseph T. Wheeler about the life and accomplishments of William Goddard (1740-1817) are amplified, clarified, and confirmed in this biography.

Continually demonstrating an argumentative proclivity which helped neither his social nor his financial position, Goddard founded and failed with both the *Providence Gazette* and the (Philadelphia) *Pennsylvania Chronicle*. In 1773, he moved to Baltimore and established the *Maryland Journal*.

His involvement in establishing a continental postal system ended in such a personal monetary disaster that he had to turn over the *Journal* to his sister, Mary Katherine Goddard. She ostensibly ran the press during the Revolution, but William determined some editorial policies. Professor Miner correctly concludes that Goddard's actions in behalf of journalistic freedom rank him with John Peter Zenger. Twice newspaper articles so incensed local super-patriots that they drove him from town. Both times he was vindicated by the state government and was allowed to return. The author should have accorded more credit to the enlightened Maryland leaders who supported the contentious printer. After the war Goddard resumed control of the *Journal*, prospered, married, and, in 1792, retired.

The literary quality of the work is somewhat marred because excessively long quotations and bibliographical notations are incorporated into the text. These notations and the "Notes on Sources" do not compensate for the absence of footnotes. The author, nevertheless, has made a significant addition to eighteenth century Maryland history and has portrayed a man whose accomplishments deserve wider attention.

DAVID C. SKAGGS

Georgetown University

The Progressive Years: The Spirit and Achievement of American Reform. Edited by OTIS PEASE. New York: George Braziller, 1962. xiv, 491. \$8.50.

In this attractive book, part of the six-volume "American Epochs Series," Professor Otis Pease of Stanford University brings together a selection of representative writings of Americans who helped shape one of the truly significant epochs in the nation's history. The reform era that extended over the first two decades of the twentieth century—The Progressive Era—was indeed, as Professor Frank Freidel of Harvard states in his preface to this volume, "the seed bed out of which grew the New Deal and the Fair Deal and, in turn, the New Frontier." Turning their attention to the political, economic, and social problems produced by the nation's swift capitulation to industrialization and urbanization, reformers in these years "irrevocably changed the role of government . . . and . . . indelibly marked the thinking of several generations." By presenting extracts from the writings of such progressive figures as Frederic C. Howe, Jane Addams, Lincoln Steffens, Walter Lippmann, William James, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson, Professor Pease enables the reader to savor the premises, aspirations, achievements and frustrations of that generation of "restless young men and women who . . . were beginning to confront their powerful elders with questions and proposals." Since the problems they tackled, and the questions and proposals they came up with, are still meaningful to American society and politics in the 1960's, the reader may also evaluate for himself the trend of modern liberalism from its roots at the turn of the century, judge its effectiveness and shortcomings in the past, and assess its relevance for the future.

The selections included in this anthology are substantial in length and largely uncut, and this is an advantage. Professor Pease has written a short introduction to each piece, and also a twenty-two page essay which serves as a general introduction to the Progressive Era as a whole. A brief bibliography at the end of the volume guides the interested reader to other primary sources for samples of progressive thought, as well as to the best of the increasing number of historical works that deal with this interesting and formative period.

J. JOSEPH HUTHMACHER

Georgetown University

Swallow Barn. By JOHN PENDLETON KENNEDY. Edited with an introduction by WILLIAM S. OSBORNE. New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1962. lv., 506. \$2.75.

This paperback printing of the 1851 edition of Kennedy's romance of Virginia country life (published first in 1832) brings back into print a major document of Southern cultural history, making readily accessible Kennedy's astute analysis of the rural Virginian temperament and life during the early decades of the nineteenth century. Professor Osborne's main preoccupation is with the literary details of *Swallow Barn*, but despite a very long introduction he fails to show why the novel, apart from its recognized merits as history, should engage the attention of a modern reader. The editor perhaps emphasized the wrong things in his approach to Kennedy's work, for as literature *Swallow Barn*, with its heavy and prolix style, is a tedious book lacking even a plot that could have drawn its chapters together. Kennedy himself confessed that it was "a book of episodes with occasional digression into plot," but William Wirt more nearly hit the mark when he said "too much verbage and too little wit."

Swallow Barn is an invertebrate novel, far more interesting as social or literary history than as literature. Many of Professor Osborne's judgments are unconvincing. Whether Kennedy really intended a mild burlesque of parts of Washington Irving's *Bracebridge Hall* is a debatable question, but even granting that he did intend this, it is not especially important. Further, the quoting of a single passage to show how Kennedy "anticipated" Mark Twain is unfortunate, for it suggests that there are closer relationships between the two writers than really exist. As to the claim that Kennedy tried to achieve "naturalness" in his writing, one can grant this only by 1) extracting random lines from their context or 2) first proving that rhetoric itself is natural, because the rhetorical devices and the eighteenth-century mannerisms of *Swallow Barn* are among its most obvious features.

It is doubtful whether the present edition of *Swallow Barn*, welcome though it is, will add to Kennedy's stature as an American writer. The more important task, relating the work of Kennedy to his era, has already been performed by Charles E. Bohner in his excellent study, *Gentleman from Baltimore* (1961).

CECIL D. EBY

Washington and Lee University

Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites. By KENNETH CARROLL. Easton, Md.: The Easton Publishing Company, 1962. 116. \$3.75.

Dr. Kenneth Carroll, native of Easton, Maryland, well-known religious historian, and active leader in the Society of Friends, has given us an excellent account of the hitherto little-known Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites from their beginnings as an independent religious group of unchurched individuals on the Eastern Shore of Maryland to their eventual inclusion in Quakerism.

Similarities between the Nicholites and Friends are examined, such as attitudes toward slavery, war, capital punishment, the taking of oaths, the marriage ceremony, the hiring of ministers and later, after Joseph Nichols' death, their organizations. The possible influence of John Woolman and other Friends on Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites is discussed.

Dr. Carroll's research indicates that Nicholite Meeting Houses were located in Caroline and Dorchester Counties of Maryland and then in North and South Carolina, as a result of migration.

In the Appendix are listed Nicholites who were admitted as members to the Society of Friends, as well as records of births, marriages, witnesses to marriages and wills of the Nicholites.

Covering the period 1760-1798 we have here a very readable, documented study of the life of a small but interesting religious group and its founder, and the influences which played back and forth between it and other religious organizations.

THEODORE H. MATTHEISS

Baltimore, Md.

William Plumer of New Hampshire, 1759-1850. By LYNN W. TURNER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va. 366. \$7.50.

The New England past occupies a favored place in American historiography because New Englanders have made it so. Both in quality and quantity, its historians and antiquarians have produced torrents of words which ensure for their section a hearing from subsequent generations. Much of this writing pertains to Massachusetts, and particularly in the national period, the other New England states suffer a relative neglect which makes the appearance of this fine biography of New Hampshire's William Plumer the more welcome.

Plumer held high office both in his own state and at Washington. His career in the Senate during Jefferson's administration will attract those interested in American national history, and while governor of New Hampshire he figured prominently in the Dartmouth College Case. Turner devotes considerable space to this affair and handles it excellently. His portrait of Plumer is convincing and unpretentiously executed. His subject affords a prototype of that group of Federalist politicians of the 1790's who found greener political pastures in the expanding Republican party which ran away from Jefferson and Madison.

For Maryland readers there is not much specifically relevant, except perhaps the impeachment of federal judges issue in 1804, when the Jeffersonians deposed Judge Pickering of New Hampshire and then moved unsuccessfully against Justice Samuel Chase of Maryland. But Marylanders should follow the example set by this study, and begin to render belated justice to their state's early national leaders. Until we have scholarly and analytical biographies of such men as William Pinkney, William Wirt, Samuel Smith, Benjamin C. Howard, Reverdy Johnson (to name but a few), this era of Free State history is doomed to its present, undeserved, state of near-obscurity.

FRANK OTTO GATELL

University of Maryland

Prohibition and the Progressive Movement: 1900-1920. By JAMES H. TIMBERLAKE. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963. 238. \$5.25.

The thesis of *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement* is that ". . . sometimes regarded as a conservative measure, prohibition was actually written into the Constitution as a progressive reform." In this position Dr. Timberlake seemingly collides squarely with at least one Progressive analyst, Eric Goldman, who saw Prohibition as the "crowning symbol of the drive for conformity" and Wilson's veto of the Volstead Act as the "last gasp of Wilsonian progressivism." The difficulty is what is progressivism or the Progressive movement.

To the author, it is a combination of idealism and pragmatism heavily laced with the New Nationalism of Theodore Roosevelt. The dominating personnel are the old-stock, middle class Americans who ram Prohibition through in spite of the opposition of Progressives identified with the urban-labor-immigrant elements. Yet, the nagging question remains, was Prohibition the last flick-

ering achievement of a dying Progressive movement or was it the first triumph of the Babbitts—those same old-stock, middle class Americans?

In systematically and very thoroughly analyzing the push for Prohibition, Dr. Timberlake assesses the religious, scientific, social, economic and political arguments and pressures. Religiously, the dry exponents were the evangelical Protestants and the leaders of the Social Gospel movement: the dry argument was that drink interfered with morality and the Protestant ethic, fomented unrest among the lower classes and caused a "drink-sodden, muddled and fuddled proletariat."

Turning to the scientific and social pressures, Dr. Timberlake notes the influence of scientists in exploding the "myths" of liquor's benefits, the pressure of the WCTU and their "dry" textbook crusade, and the practical support of the insurance agencies and settlement workers. Most picturesque was the attack of the Boston Associated Charities with their diamond-shaped stickers for baseball bats, reading: "Speed! Aim! Ambition! make a good ball player! Liquor injures all three! Ask the Red Sox!"

Even more pragmatic are the points cited in "The Economic Argument." Business decried drink's evil effect on efficiency, noted that money diverted from liquor would support other industries, and paternally argued in a Victorian throw-back that workers could not be trusted to resist temptation. The A.F.L. in general opposed Prohibition, but it did pragmatically observe that strikes and drinks did not mix well.

Politically, the middle class saw Prohibition as the weapon to break the saloon-dominated boss politics and to democratize government. The assault was led by the Anti-Saloon League under Reverend Howard H. Russell and Purley A. Baker. The fruit of their labors is catalogued in "Toward a Dry Utopia," chronicling legislation through local option to the Eighteenth Amendment.

Having interestingly collected all the arguments for Prohibition, the author concludes with the question of whether the middle class "had undertaken something that the working classes would not accept and that they themselves would not obey. If so, they would either have to try to enforce the law through measures that smacked of tyranny, or they would have to acquiesce in a defiance of the law . . . In either case the result would be reaction, not progress." The victory of Prohibition would seem to lie with the Babbitts, fear and conservatism.

DOROTHY M. BROWN

College of Notre Dame of Maryland

Chesapeake Bay Log Canoes and Bugeyes. By MARION V. BREWINGTON. Cambridge, Md., Cornell Maritime Press, 1963. x, 171. \$10.

Back in 1937, Commander Brewington (U.S.N. Ret.) first published his "Chesapeake Bay Log Canoes." The text and pictures were in a small book about 8" by 4" with pictures; and the plans were in a flat paper covered book about 12" by 24". It was extremely awkward to read the text and follow the plans.

Again, in 1941, he took his pen and camera and brought out "Chesapeake Bay Bugeyes"—this in still another size.

Now, a reprinting joins the two in wedlock and his new edition of the combination will be welcomed by all. It is 8½" by 11" in size and contains all the wealth of information, as well as, all the pictures and plans of the previous edition.

Few changes have been made—only to clear up possible ambiguous passages. So much the better. For in Mr. Brewington, we have the acknowledged authority on these two Chesapeake Bay native craft. Even the dean of maritime historians, Howard I. Chapelle, says in a letter to me of March 18, 1963, "I know of Brewington's books on the bugeye and also his earlier book on the log canoe. I consider these types far better covered than the others on the Bay."

William Armstrong Fairburn, on page 267 of his first volume of "Merchant Sail," says in regard to the Chesapeake, "The territory used small rowboats, canoes acquired from the Indians, and pinnaces,—and any sail spread on such diminutive craft did not make them into sailing vessels worthy of recognition in a history of merchant sail."

Brewington, the authority on these two types, canoe and bugeye—has an answer here to Mr. Fairburn; and it is very pleasant to have the whole story in one easily handled volume. These types are strictly Maryland and should interest our readers.

RICHARD H. RANDALL

Baltimore, Md.

Daniel Morgan, Revolutionary Rifleman. By DON HIGGINBOTHAM. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1961. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. xi, 239. \$6.

Daniel Morgan was a Revolutionary War general who had a colorful career both as an Army officer and as a politician. During his lifetime, he became embroiled not only in frontier politics and the Whiskey Rebellion, but also specific campaigns during the Revolution. Higginbotham describes him as "an excellent tactician, a superb leader of men, and an outstanding light infantry commander."

Morgan, unfortunately, is a nearly forgotten commander of the Revolution. The author, however, has restored him to his role as an outstanding officer whose military career began with Braddock in 1755, continued through the Revolutionary War campaigns around Boston, Quebec, Saratoga, and those in the Middle States, and ended with the Whiskey Rebellion of the 1790's. His riflemen armed with Kentucky rifles performed excellent service during many of the battles of the Revolution and were important factors in many American victories. These same riflemen have helped to give Morgan his well-deserved reputation.

The author has characterized Morgan as one who was "the center of activity and not a little controversy." He certainly was all of that and more, in spite of the fact that he was illiterate, uncultured, and involved in tiffs with his superiors and with Congress. The author has, unfortunately, devoted most of his book to Morgan's military career and much too little to his personal life. He has, however, an excellent frontispiece portrait by Charles Willson Peale. It is, moreover, somewhat refreshing to have a biography of a Revolutionary War leader in this period of the great output of Civil War studies.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Maryland Hall of Records

A Calendar of Ridgely Family Letters 1742-1899 in the Delaware State Archives. Edited and compiled by LEON DE VALINGER, JR., and VIRGINIA E. SHAW. Family data supplied by Mrs. HENRY RIDGELY. Vol. III. Milford, Delaware, 1961. xxxiv, 362. \$6.

These entertaining and skillfully edited letters reflect social and political life among the gentry in the middle colonies and states from 1742 to 1899.

The Delaware Ridgelys stem from Nicholas Ridgely (1694-1755), lawyer, who came from Anne Arundel County, Maryland, before 1734. The letters in this third and last volume begin with those of his great-grandchildren. The first pertain to Nicholas Ridgely IV (1820-1849) who was converted to Methodism at nineteen, and soon became a preacher. Among his converts was an elderly Quaker named John Woodall. When Patience Jenkins—a Quaker minister who at times threw her bonnet across the Meeting-house floor when preaching—heard this she “admonished” John not to “trust to a profession.” (Quakers believe in direct guidance from the Inner Light.) John’s wife Eliza answered: “that a youth of twenty-one was the happy instrument in the hands of God” in convincing him.

However, Nicholas’s brother Eugene wrote their sister Ann du Pont that Nicholas was tired being a Methodist preacher and said it was not “what it is *cracked up to be*. . . .” He also told his sister that John M. Clayton, a National political figure who became co-author of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, and others, would speak at “a great Whig Meeting in Dover” where they will make a desperate effort to humbug the people . . . with music, coon skins and hard cider.”

Ann du Pont’s husband, Charles Irene, of the well known family, was an ardent Whig and supporter of John M. Clayton. He jokingly wrote his wife that if John M. becomes President, and he a successful bidder for a large Kersey contract, “we might die rich yet,” employ French instead of Irish cooks and go to Newport “to recreate a little.”

These valuable letters were salvaged in eight three-bushel bags from a loft in the old Ridgely house on Dover Green by Ann Ridgely du Pont in 1887. The collection contains Ridgely, Walter Dulany (of Maryland), and Comegys Papers—some were beyond repair. Other papers were added by Mrs. Henry Ridgely when, at her intercession, the collection was given to the Public Archives Commission of Delaware.

Those interested in the many facets of National and local lore that these letters disclose will be ever grateful to the late Mrs. Henry Ridgely for these books, and to Leon de Valinger, Jr., and Miss Virginia E. Shaw and their staff for the excellence of the presentation of the letters.

GEORGE VALENTINE MASSEY, II

Dover, Delaware

Just South of Gettysburg. Edited by FREDERIC SHRIVER KLEIN. Westminster: The Newman Press (for the Civil War Centennial Committee of the Historical Society of Carroll County, Md.), 1963. 247. \$3.95.

Just South of Gettysburg is a compilation of source materials, many of them printed for the first time, that vividly depict life in a border county of a border state during the Civil War. Numerous extracts from diaries, letters and documents describe the local excitement and alarms resulting from differences of opinion, widespread enlistment, cavalry raids and the mass movement of troops, all climaxed by the decisive engagement fought at Gettysburg less than ten miles distant from the northwestern corner of the county. In addition to combat many phases of the war are covered, including transportation, supply, communications and reporting. Of particular interest is the chapter describing Meade's plans to form a battle line in the county along Pipe Creek, plans that were disrupted "because of the accidental skirmish that became the great battle of the war at Gettysburg." The volume is illustrated and is accompanied by an excellent map of troop movements in the county during the Gettysburg Campaign.

Dr. Klein has been ably assisted by W. Harold Redcay and G. Thompson LeGore. Their book is an intelligent approach to the current commemoration of the war and is in accordance with the aims of the National Centennial Commission. All concerned with its production merit commendation.

HAROLD R. MANAKEE

Maryland Historical Society

BOOKS RECEIVED

- The Maritime Commerce of Colonial Philadelphia.* By ARTHUR L. JENSEN. Madison, Wis.; The State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the University of Wisconsin, 1963. viii, 312. \$4.75.
- The Papers of John C. Calhoun Volume II 1817-1818.* Edited by W. EDWIN HEMPHILL. Columbia, S. C.; The University of South Carolina Press for the South Caroliniana Society, 1963. xciv, 513. \$10.
- My Travels in America.* By HENRI HERZ. Translated by HENRY B. HILL. Madison, Wisc.; The State Historical Society of Wisconsin for The Department of History, University of Wisconsin, 1963. vi, 102. \$3.
- American Panorama Pattern of the Past and Womanhood In Its Unfolding.* By WALTER HART BLUMENTHAL. Worcester, Mass; Achille J. St. Onge, 1962. 48. \$3.
- A History of the Easton Volunteer Fire Dept.* By JAMES C. MULIKEN. Easton, Md.; The Easton Volunteer Fire Department, Inc., 1962. 186.
- Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History: A Reinterpretation.* By FREDERICK MERK. New York; Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1963. xxii, 266. \$5.95.
- John J. Crittenden: The Struggle for the Union.* By ALBERT D. KIRWAN. Lexington, Ky.; University of Kentucky Press, 1962. xii, 514. \$8.50.
- The Horseman of the Shenandoah: A Biographical Account of the Early Days of George Washington.* By BLISS ISELY. Milwaukee; The Bruce Publishing Company, 1962. vi, 232. \$4.95.
- "American Song Sheets Slip Ballads and Poetical Broad-sides 1850-1870: A Catalogue of the Collection of The Library Company of Philadelphia."* By EDWIN WOLF 2ND. Philadelphia; The Library Company of Philadelphia, 1963. vii, 205, 15pp. illustrations. \$15.
- "Benjamin Franklin Wade: Radical Republican from Ohio."* By H. L. TREFOUSSE. New York; Twayne Publishers, 1963. 404. \$6.50.
- "Generalization In The Writing of History."* Edited by LOUIS GOTTSCHALK. Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 1963. xii, 255. \$5.

- The Amazing Mrs. Bonaparte.* By HARNETT T. KANE. New York, Doubleday & Company, Inc.; 1963. 301. \$4.50.
- Potomac Squire: The Human Side of George Washington.* By ELSWYTH THANE. New York; Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1963. xiv, 432. \$6.95.
- The Salmon King of Oregon R. D. Hume and the Pacific Fisheries.* By GORDON B. DODDS. Chapel Hill; The University of North Carolina Press, 1963. Published for the American Association for State and Local History, Madison, Wis., ix, 257. \$6.
- Early American Homes for Today: A Treasury of Decorative Details and Restoration Procedures.* By HEBERT WHEATON CONGDON. Rutland, Vt.; Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1963. xi, 236. \$12.50.
- The Darkest Day: 1814—The Washington-Baltimore Campaign.* By CHARLES G. MULLER. Philadelphia; J. B. Lippincott Co., 1963. 232. \$3.95.
- The Stonewall Brigade.* By JAMES I. ROBERTSON, JR. Baton Rouge; Louisiana State University Press, 1963. xiii, 271. \$6.
- The Road to Independence: A Documentary History of the Causes of the American Revolution, 1763-1776.* By JOHN BRAEMAN. New York; G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1963. 314. \$6.50.
- The Johns Hopkins Hospital and The Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine: A Chronicle. Vol. III. 1905-1914.* By ALAN M. CHESNEY. Baltimore; The Johns Hopkins Press, 1963. xv, 350. \$6.50.
-

NOTES AND QUERIES

Grant-in-Aid Announcement—The Eastern National Park and Monument Association announces a grant-in-aid program to encourage original research in those areas of the National Park System located in the eastern part of the United States. Grants will be made to qualified scholars, including graduate students, who will undertake studies in history or natural history that will contribute to the interpretation, management or developmental programs of these National Park Service areas. The amounts of the grants will depend upon the nature of the research to be performed. Requests for information about the research grants should be made to the chairman of the Grant-in-Aid Committee of the Association, Dr. Edward M. Riley, Director of Research, Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia.

Rev. William G. Hawkins; Hugh L. Bond; Freedmen's Aid Societies—For a projected study of the Civil War and post-war activities of certain abolitionists in philanthropic and educational work for the freedmen and other social reform efforts, I would welcome information of any kind on the National Freedmen's Relief Association, the American Freedmen's Aid Commission, the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People, the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association and kindred organizations. I would also be grateful for biographical data, letters or other sources on the Rev. William George Hawkins, a native of Baltimore, editor of *The National Freedman*, and Hugh L. Bond of Baltimore, President of the Eastern Division of the American Freedmen's Aid Commission.

RICHARD K. MACMASTER, S. J.
Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md.

Oursler—Information is desired about this family, its origins, decent and migrations. There were Ourslers in and around Baltimore in the late 18th century and until the 1830's at least, but information about them is very skimpy. There were Ourslers in Indiana in the 1850's and later; they may have come from Ohio. One Indiana family consisted of the following brothers and sisters:

Lafayette (called "Bob"), Rufus, Charles, Marston, Enoch, Martin, Catherine (Mrs. Jesse Hockett), Rebecca (Mrs. Harlan Hadley). What is the connection between the Baltimore and Indiana Ourslers, if any? Could the name be an Anglicized version of a Pennsylvania Dutch name such as Hausler?

WILLIAM A. VAWTER, III
80 Mountain View Ave., Muir Woods Park
Mill Valley, Calif.

Information wanted—For a study of Maryland agriculture, the writer would greatly appreciate hearing about unusual barns in Maryland and receiving any photographs or drawings of such barns, sheds, and other farm outbuildings. Pictures will be returned if requested; otherwise they will be added to the Society's collections. In addition, details of the building's floor plans, construction materials, current and past uses, history of ownership, state of current repair, age, or date of construction, as well as location by county, and the nearest county or state road would be most useful. Since so many of the early barns are being burned or destroyed, particularly near metropolitan areas, there is a sense of urgency to this request.

C. A. PORTER HOPKINS
201 W. Monument St., Baltimore 1

George Mason Papers, Williamsburg, Va.—The historical papers of George Mason, one of Virginia's great colonial statesmen, will be collected, edited and published in a project announced jointly today by the Board of Regents of Gunston Hall and the Institute of Early American History and Culture. Professor Robert A. Rutland of the University of California at Los Angeles will assemble and edit the Mason Papers. Mrs. George H. Johnson, first regent of the Board of Regents of Gunston Hall, said her organization will finance the collecting and editing of the papers. They will be published by the Institute, according to its director, Lester J. Cappon.

Maryland Historical Seminar—The Seminar met on Monday, May 6, at which time a draft chapter of a history of Baltimore which Mr. Wilbur H. Hunter, Jr., Director of the Peale Museum, is writing was discussed with the author. Visiting critics were Mr.

Hamilton Owens, retired Editor-in-Chief of the *Sunpapers*, and Dr. Constance Green, author of a history of Washington, D. C. On the day of the meeting Dr. Green was notified that she had been awarded the Pulitzer Prize in History for Volume I of her book, published in 1962.

The Seminar, modelled on the Advanced Seminar in History of the Johns Hopkins University, was instituted last year to stimulate research and study in Maryland history and to provide authors preparing studies for publication with professional assistance and criticism.

CONTRIBUTORS

DR. JOHN R. LAMBERT, JR. is Professor of American History in the Department of Social Studies at North Carolina State College, Raleigh. He is author of the biography *Arthur Pue Gorman*, 1953, and a contributor to *The Old Line State, A History of Maryland*.

MR. PHILIP EVANSON is a graduate student at the University of Virginia, studying under a National Defense Act Fellowship in History.

MR. SAMUEL H. MILLER is a native of Baltimore and a graduate of the Towson State Teachers College. Publication of the Mettam memoirs was born out of an avid interest in local Civil War history. Mr. Miller is currently writing a history of the Virginia Cavalry, 1860-1865. He has published an article in *Civil War History* and contributed to other journals.

MR. FRANK F. WHITE, JR. is a Junior Archivist at the Hall of Records, Annapolis, and has published several articles in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

GENEALOGY COLLECTION

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



Blythewood Pond, Late 19th Century

Courtesy of Mrs. George Wrenn Williams

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BALTIMORE

September • 1963

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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Richard Walsh, *Editor*

C. A. Porter Hopkins, *Asst. Editor*

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PUBLICATIONS



Studies in Maryland History

His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland. By Donnell M. Owings. 1953	\$ 6.00
Baltimore as Seen by Visitors, 1783-1860. By Raphael Semmes. Illustrated. 1953	\$ 4.00
William Buckland, 1733-1774. By Rosamond R. Beirne and John H. Scarff. 1958	\$ 7.50

Texts and References for School Use

My Maryland. By Kaessmann, Manakee and Wheeler. History of Maryland, revised edition. 1955	\$ 3.15
The Star Spangled Banner. Illustrated Booklet. Description of the writing of our national anthem by Francis Scott Key	\$.50
Indians of Early Maryland. By Harold R. Manakee. 1959	\$ 1.80
Maryland in the Civil War. By Harold R. Manakee. 1961	\$ 4.50
Early Explorations of the Chesapeake Bay. By Gilbert Byron. 1960	\$ 1.00
Wheeler Leaflets on Maryland History. (25 titles)	\$.10

Miscellaneous

The Maryland Press, 1777-1790. By Joseph T. Wheeler. 1938	\$ 4.00
Calendar of Otho Holland Williams Papers. By Elizabeth Merritt (mimeographed, paper covers). 1940	\$ 2.75
History of Queen Anne's County. By Frederic Emory. 1950	\$ 7.50
Descendants of Richard and Elizabeth (Ewen) Talbot of West River. Ida M. Shirk, comp. 1927	\$15.00
Semmes and Kindred Families. By Harry Wright Newman. 1956	\$10.00
The Hollyday and Related Families of the Eastern Shore of Mary- land. By James Bordley, Jr., M.D. 1962	\$10.00
The Regimental Colors of the 175th Infantry (Fifth Maryland). By H. R. Manakee and Col. Roger S. Whiteford. 1959	\$ 2.00

World War II

Maryland in World War II: Vol. I, Military Participation, 1950; Vol. II, Industry and Agriculture, 1951; Vol. III, Home Front Volunteer Services, 1958; Vol. IV, Gold Star Honor Roll, 1956. H. R. Manakee, comp.	\$ 3.25
History of the 110th Field Artillery, with Sketches of Related Units. By Col. John P. Cooper, Jr. Illustrated. 1953	\$ 5.00
History of the 175th Infantry (Fifth Md. Regt.) .by James H. Fitzgerald Brewer. 1955	\$ 5.00

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EMBARGO POLITICS IN MARYLAND

By DOROTHY M. BROWN

THE Maryland Federalists were in a political coma in 1806. Party leader, Robert Goodloe Harper despondently acknowledged that nothing the Federalists could do would dislodge Republican ideals or dominance. The only role of the conservatives was to remain ready when and if the time for action did arrive. Until that time, Harper was resigned to amusing himself with farming, reading and playing with the children.¹ However, within the next year this Federalist idyll was shattered, the party rescued from oblivion, and the stage set for the hottest political fight in the Free State since 1800.

In 1807 the economic ferocity of the Napoleonic wars, the repeated seizures of American seamen and cargoes, the crucial *Chesapeake-Leopard* affair, and rampant war fever finally resulted in American action, the embargo. This more than any

¹ Robert Goodloe Harper to H. G. Otis, May 27, 1806, Harper-Pennington MSS, Md. Hist. Soc.

other single factor breathed life into the dying Federalists. A Republican economic measure, it became the most politically explosive issue since the Alien and Sedition Acts. Passed to retaliate against French and British depredations, the embargo threatened to ruin not only trade but also the Republicans.

Maryland, a State heavily committed to commerce, was profoundly affected by this 1807 turmoil. Free State merchants pressed and petitioned Congress to do something to stop the "scenes of violence and depredation" in the harbors.² They concluded rather lamely, however, that they hoped that measures adopted would somehow not precipitate a war. Marylanders in Congress did try to find some *modus vivendi*. Republican Joseph Nicholson, in the House of Representatives, suggested a non-importation measure to restrict British trade.³ In the Senate, Republican Robert Wright introduced a bill to protect American seamen, calling the attention of the upper house to the "present degraded state of impressed American seamen, thousands of whom have been pressed on board the British ships of war, and compelled by whips and scourges, to work like galley slaves. . . ." ⁴

While this action was taken in Congress, Marylander William Pinkney with James Monroe was trying to curb British impressment and trade policies by treaty. When signed in 1807, however, this abortive Monroe-Pinkney treaty provided for no safeguard against the continuance of the hated impressment. Secretary of the Navy, Marylander Robert Smith, feared that no treaty could be made that would be acceptable to the United States. Still, he hoped that the two nations would find a way "to jog on in peace upon some general understanding." ⁵

On June 22, 1807, however, the celebrated *Chesapeake-Leopard* affair threatened immediate war. It was one thing to impress American seamen from merchantmen; it was another for a British man-of-war to stop an American naval vessel and remove four of her crew. Maryland's reaction was typically

² U. S., *Annals of Congress*, House of Representatives, 9th Congress, 2d session, Appendix, p. 842.

³ *Ibid.*, 9th Congress, 1st session, p. 451.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Senate, p. 57.

⁵ Robert Smith to [?], Feb. 9, 1807, Sam Smith MSS, Library of Congress. Hereafter L. C.

belligerent. Revolutionary hero Sam Smith reported a huge public meeting in Baltimore to draw up resolutions in protest against the British action. In this local assemblage, there was an overwhelming consensus that if satisfaction were not immediately forthcoming, the United States should declare war. Writing to Jefferson, General Smith urged a show of military preparedness and warned: "If we tamper too much with the natural ardor of the people, we shall moderate it down until we become a pusillanimous race."⁶

In other sections of the State, Marylanders were also convinced of the imminence of war. Federalist Charles Carroll of Carrollton urged his son-in-law Robert Goodloe Harper to settle up what business affairs he could. The war, he feared, would bring on a total stagnation of trade.⁷ If that happened, nobody, even those with money on hand, would pay their bills. By swift action, Carroll proposed to avoid this expected debtor reluctance by collecting what he could before defaulting became contagious.

The Maryland General Assembly, dominated by Republicans, responded to the crisis in a more patriotic vein. Drafting a joint resolution to the President, the State delegates pledged to sacrifice their lives and property to repel wanton and lawless aggressions. In highly spiced language, the Assembly reviewed the *Chesapeake* disaster and lamented that "the blood of our brave seamen have fallen victims of piratical domination." They concluded with a statement and a pledge:

The citizens of Maryland, indignant at this flagrant and unprecedented outrage upon our national character, assembled in various districts of the state and manifested their feelings in addressing the constituted authorities of their country in strong and energetic language, and we, the common organ of their will, would unfaithfully represent that people, did we fail to reiterate their high resentment and patriotic determination, to brave all the calamities of war rather than tamely submit to the tyranny and indolence of any nation.⁸

⁶ Sam Smith to Jefferson, June 30, 1807, Jefferson MSS, Vol. 168, L. C.

⁷ Charles Carroll to Robert Goodloe Harper, July 4, 1807, Harper-Pennington MSS, Md. Hist. Soc.

⁸ Maryland, *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate*, November session, 1807, p. 24.

A Federalist amendment to moderate the vigor of the resolution was overwhelmingly defeated by a House vote of 52-12.⁹

Undergirded by brave words, Maryland prepared to take firm action against the British. Governor Wright reported to the General Assembly that the Secretary of War had called for 5,863 militiamen from the Free State. Though the Maryland militia forces were disorganized, Wright announced that half of the State quota had already reported for orders.¹⁰

Throughout the State military companies were springing up to ward off the expected British attack.¹¹ Requests announcing the formation of volunteer troops regularly arrived at Annapolis to ask for proper military arms and accoutrements.¹² By November 7, 1807, Governor Wright was able to review over two thousand Maryland militiamen raised since the *Chesapeake* imbroglio. Particularly impressive to the State Executive was the fact that the entire troop were volunteers, "citizens in the enjoyment of every comfort and luxury of life, already prepared to take the Field and to exchange them for the fatigues of the camp; in defence of the violated rights of a bleeding Country."¹³

In Washington, meanwhile, other less bellicose measures were under way. Jefferson had cautioned against an over-eager plunge into war or an embargo.¹⁴ By December, convinced that the British would not renounce their right of impressment, Jefferson proposed the passage of an embargo. In the House debates and voting for the bill, Marylanders split according to party. Republicans in the House, William McCreery, John Montgomery, Nicholas Moore and Roger Nelson voted in an affirmative block with the administration, while Federalists John Campbell and Philip Barton Key were joined by renegade Republican Archibald Van Horne in the

⁹ *Ibid.*, House of Delegates, p. 104.

¹⁰ Governor Wright to the General Assembly, Nov. 7, 1807, Executive Letter Books, 1807, Hall of Records, Annapolis, hereafter H. R.

¹¹ Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County, Maryland, 1661-1861* (Baltimore, 1915), I, 190.

¹² Aquila Mills, Henry King, and James Wilson to Governor Wright, Aug. 19, 1807, Scharf MSS, Md. Hist. Soc.

¹³ Governor Wright to the General Assembly, Nov. 7, 1807, Executive Letter Books, 1807, H. R.

¹⁴ Louis Martin Sears, *Jefferson and the Embargo* (Durham, 1927), p. 57.

negative.¹⁵ In the Senate, the Baltimore leader Sam Smith voted with the Jefferson forces in a 22-6 triumph. His Eastern Shore partner, Philip Reed, was not present.¹⁶

Though passage of the embargo was widely supported in the House and Senate, there were some early warnings that its enforcement would not be easy. On December 24, two days after the measure was enacted into law, Gabriel Christie, Collector of the port of Baltimore, warned Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin that some local "commercial characters" had already plotted evasions, particularly in the coastwide trade that was still allowed.¹⁷ One dodge proposed and effected by the merchants was to change masters in the middle of a voyage to avoid a penalty to the master who had signed the clearance papers.¹⁸ Another technique was to sail from Baltimore in ballast, load a cargo in a remote estuary of the Chesapeake Bay and then embark for the West Indies instead of Charleston or Boston.¹⁹ Ironically, these evasions came in a period when Baltimore merchants generally supported the embargo.²⁰

Understandably, the solid substratum of Federalist opinion found little to be pleased with in the Republican measure. Traditional Anglophiles, they were distressed at the departure of British diplomat George Henry Rose from Washington and wistfully hoped that the country would share this feeling.²¹ For, if the country was ready to make sacrifices, there were some Maryland Federalists who were not. Ex-Secretary of the Navy Ben Stoddert complained bitterly of his economic difficulties: "God knows what I am myself to do in these times, when money, plenty as it is, is all locked up from any employment. I hoped, being so very low in price, I should have sold my little

¹⁵ U. S., *Annals of Congress*, House of Representatives, 10th Congress, 1st session, pp. 1221-2.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Senate, p. 51.

¹⁷ Edward Channing, *A History of the United States* (New York: 1905-25), IV, 382-3. Coastwise trade was carried on until the end of 1808.

¹⁸ Gabriel Christie to Albert Gallatin, Dec. 24, 1807, Letters to and from the Collector of Baltimore, 1807-1833, Treasury Department Archives, Washington, pp. 10-11.

¹⁹ John Brice to Gallatin, Dec. 28, 1807, *ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁰ John Pancake, "Baltimore and the Embargo: 1807-1809," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII (Sept., 1952), 177. See also a resolution of the Maryland General Assembly, Maryland, *Laws of Maryland*, Nov. 1807.

²¹ Ben Stoddert to James McHenry, March 20, 1808 cited by Bernard L. Steiner, *The Life and Correspondence of James McHenry* (Cleveland, 1907), pp. 543-4.

farm 'ere this . . . but I seem further off than ever. Yet here I cannot live nor can I move from hence. . . ." ²²

Republicans had more sanguine hopes of the embargo; specifically they predicted the measure would cause a great increase in domestic and local manufacturing. A meeting of party leaders at Steele's Tavern in June resolved to bring good out of evil by encouraging manufacturing on a scale that would make the nation independent of British imports.²³ The Annapolis *Maryland Gazette* was delighted to report that Jefferson, too, apparently supported this boost to manufacturing. The Chief Executive, the correspondent noted, had appeared at Fourth of July festivities garbed in "a neat suit of homespun," thus setting "a patriotic example . . . worthy of general imitation."²⁴ The Baltimore *Federal Gazette*, a Federalist organ, grudgingly conceding that it was commendable to encourage manufacturing, declaimed that it was unfortunate that men were being "driven" to it by their own government.²⁵

In the summer and fall of 1808, these roseate visions of what the embargo might do for industry were dimmed and darkened by what the embargo was actually doing to commerce. Even though most Baltimore merchants wished the experiment success, some apparently could not bear the trade pinch for an extended period of time. Baltimore trader William Patterson warned Virginia politico Wilson Cary Nicholas that he feared the Americans did not have the virtue and perseverance to wait patiently for the success of the embargo experiment.²⁶

An article by "The People" in the naturally jaundiced *Federal Gazette* substantiated Patterson's fears. Refuting the argument that even if there were no embargo American shippers would not risk a voyage, "The People" questioned: "If there be no safety on any sea, why do so many *merchants* sacrifice their property in attempts to escape from the merciless fangs of this embargo? If there be no safety in foreign trade, how is it that our underwriters will insure for so small a premium?" ²⁷

²² *Ibid.*

²³ [Frederick] *Independent American-Volunteer*, June 29, 1808.

²⁴ [Annapolis] *The Maryland Gazette*, July 14, 1808.

²⁵ *The Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, Aug. 26, 1808.

²⁶ William Patterson to W. C. Nicholas, May 11, 1808 cited by Sears, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

²⁷ *The Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, Sept. 13, 1808.

More specific accounts of Baltimore embargo violations continued to be made in the press and in Congress. Accused of stopping a ship that had proper clearance, Naval Lieutenant John Nicholson explained that he had so often found illegal cargoes nesting in the holds of vessels with "regular clearance" papers that he had little choice but to stop and search whenever possible.²⁸ Substantiating this testimony was a report of Secretary of the Treasury Gallatin that cited Baltimore as one of the ports where there were embargo violations.²⁹ In Congress, John Randolph charged that over a hundred thousand barrels of flour had been smuggled out of the Maryland port.³⁰

These repeated evasions reflected a growing antagonism the embargo "our greatest enemy" and "cause of all distress," affected the Maryland port probably as severely as any other in the nation.³¹ In 1806 Baltimore's registered 1,001 seamen were second in numbers only to Boston's 1,043. These sailors, now idle, could provide an increasingly articulate resistance to the trade ban. Even more important was the impact of the embargo on the export traffic from the port. In 1806-07, Baltimore's exports had topped the ten million dollar mark; the 1808 exports were down to \$1,904,700, a loss of over eighty per cent.³²

In a pre-election build-up the Federalist press directed sharp words against the embargo. The government, complained "An American" in the *Federal Gazette*, had put itself in the place of the merchant and the judge. At one stroke, it had doomed ships to decay, sailors to starvation, and crops to destruction.³³ A Federalist correspondent fumed: "Enough of this self-denial." Quakers could stand this regimen, but no simple Protestants.³⁴

Estimates varied as to the severity of the economic pinch. "A Native" asserted that the annual loss per person averaged out to equal a tax of eight dollars a head. In Baltimore, the

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Sept. 17, 1808.

²⁹ Pancake, *loc. cit.*, p. 179.

³⁰ Sears, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

³¹ *The Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, Aug. 16 and Sept. 14, 1808.

³² Pancake, *loc. cit.*, p. 178.

³³ *The Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, Sept. 14, 1808.

³⁴ [Baltimore] *The Federal Republican and Commercial Advertiser*, Sept. 2, 1808.

price of flour had plummeted from forty dollars a barrel to twelve.³⁵ In the *Federal Gazette*, "Civis" gloomily forecast:

The barreled Pork, Beef, Fish &c. to an enormous amount is suffering, the Flour will soon begin to spoil, the fly will destroy all the tender white wheat, the salt in the country will be engrossed, and sold out at high prices, coarse cloths and linens must inevitably be very dear; in short, the people will have to contend against every difficulty, without being permitted to use the means they have within their power to relieve themselves.³⁶

The only hope, concluded "Civis," was to petition Congress to quickly repeal the measure.

Rising to the defense of the administration, the Maryland Republican press did not gloss over the distress brought on by the embargo. However, "An Enquiring Voter" in the Easton *Republican Star* pointed out that the only alternatives to the embargo were tribute or war.³⁷ Of the three, he preferred the evils of the embargo. The Baltimore *Whig* attacked the Federalist claim that over thirty-eight million dollars of trade beckoned beyond the walls of the embargo. "An asparagus plant does not sprout faster than federal falsehoods and folly," asserted the Republican *Whig*.³⁸ However, name-calling would not stop the relentless charges of the rapidly recovering Federalists.

Reverting to their tactics in the XYZ crisis, the Federalists once more linked the Jefferson administration with the evil machinations of France. The embargo was the result of a deadly agreement between the Chief Executive and his "Gallic Majesty."³⁹ More colorfully, this alleged pact was described as "Dr. Simon Snout's Essence of Embargo." This secret elixir compounded by two French Legion of Honor men was "formed from the horns of frogs caught in Louisiana and tails of prairie dogs."⁴⁰ It was a destructive witches brew.

³⁵ *The Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, Aug. 13, 1808.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Aug. 19, 1808.

³⁷ [Easton] *The Republican Star or Eastern Shore General Advertiser*, Sept. 20, 1808.

³⁸ [Baltimore] *The Whig*, July 19, 1808.

³⁹ [Baltimore] *The Federal Republican and Commercial Advertiser*, July 8, 1808.

⁴⁰ [Baltimore] *The North American and Mercantile Daily Advertiser*, Sept. 10, 1808.

A Federalist poet, styling himself "Kindred with the Gingham family," produced a rhymed condemnation of the controversial trade measure. America's state was compared to that of a farmer living between two feuding jealous neighbors who coveted his land.

Finding the *Farmer* meek and mild,
The *Wranglers'* indignation boil'd;
One roar'd and swore, in savage tone,
He should not be allow'd the *moon*
To *see*, unless he paid him for it—
While *t'other* raved, in accents horrid,
That if he paid a single *sou*,
He'd take his farm, and *thrash* him too.

The simple *Farmer* (sad to tell!)
Rather than these insults repel, —
Rather than gloriously fight
For his inalienable *right*, —
Meanly resolv'd (the despicable elf)
To tear his eyes out, and destroy . . .
*himself!*⁴¹

While the Federalists denounced the embargo as suicidal, the Republicans became more convinced that to persevere in the measure was not an affair of honor.⁴² It was this impasse that would be the background for the crucial and hotly contested elections of 1808.

As early as December 1807, President Jefferson had indicated that he would not be a candidate for reelection. Piquantly, he announced his decision to the Maryland General Assembly. Pleading advancing age and the "admonition of nature," he explained further that he did not wish to disregard the sound precedent set by Washington. Extended service tended always to develop into a lifetime and hereditary position.⁴³ This the liberal Jefferson did not want.

The scramble to fill the top party position, though Jefferson had indicated that Madison was his choice, shows clearly the splits that had developed since 1800 in the period of Republican

⁴¹ *The Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, Sept. 10, 1808.

⁴² Robert Smith to Jefferson, Nov. 1, 1808, Jefferson MSS, Vol. 182, L. C.

⁴³ Maryland, *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate*, November session, 1807, p. 23.

dominance. The Federalists viewed the destructive intra-party battles between the Madison, Monroe and Clinton followers with a keen and obvious delight. None of the Republicans, chortled the opposition, was worthy to be elected, if the charges of fellow Republicans were true.⁴⁴ The extreme Federalist paper, the *Baltimore Federal Republican* hastened to point out that the Federalists had not "had the presumption to make a nomination."⁴⁵

The Federalists, hesitating to draw up a separate Presidential ticket, gave their support to the Republican most sympathetic to Federalist criticism of the administration. The choice devolved on vice-president George Clinton. This tactic thoroughly alarmed the Madison Republicans. If Clinton continued to come forward as a serious candidate in the face of the Republican party caucus choice of Madison, the party leaders warned that he would lose all claims to Republican votes. What the Madison men most feared was that in the hassle the Federalists, having encouraged the Republican split, would somehow slip back into power.⁴⁶

Sensing an opportunity to make real political gains on the the national level, the Federalists girded for the campaign. In the Free State, an attempt was finally made to forge a state-wide Federalist machine. Having roundly condemned factions and parties during their Washington-Adams dominance, the Federalists at last openly acknowledged that party regularity was a sound objective. In July Robert Goodloe Harper issued a form letter to Federalists throughout Maryland, asking them to come or to send representatives of their counties to Baltimore on the fourth Monday of the month. Realizing that it would not be possible in the limited time before the October balloting to form elaborate county organizations, Harper wanted this meeting at least to discuss and agree on common policies. On the agenda were discussions of the Presidential election, the feasibility of nominating Congressmen, and the possibility of gaining control of the State legislature.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ [Baltimore] *Federal Republican and Commercial Advertiser*, July 18, 1808.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Jonathan Russell to Sam Smith, Sept. 13, 1808, Sam Smith MSS, Library of Congress. Catalogued under Sept. 13, 1800 in the collection.

⁴⁷ Robert G. Harper to John Hanson Thomas, July 1808, Harper-Pennington MSS, Md. Hist. Soc.

Besides this local cooperation, the Federalists worked to concert actions with party members in other states. Marylanders could no longer afford to look on with "a stupid indifference."⁴⁸ Harper again took the lead through correspondence to inform local leaders of a proposed Federalist convention in New York to decide national strategy for the upcoming Presidential election.⁴⁹

Republicans were not standing by idly. While the Federalists were busy calling for concerted national action, they bitterly criticized the Republican exodus from Washington for local stumping.⁵⁰ The incidence and vigor of Sam Smith's addresses in the Free State particularly alarmed the Federalists. The iniquities of "this mob-leading Senator," paled, however, when the Federalists considered the influence of secret societies which worked behind the scenes and refused to "divulge business outside the wigwam."⁵¹

With both parties spoiling for a hard campaign, the Fourth of July oratory, annual political kick-off, displayed more than the usual variety of active meetings and rousing toasts. A Federalist meeting near Baltimore featured a toast by a lawyer: "Damnation to all Democrats!" When another guest rose to protest, Charles Ridgely hurled wine into his face and effectively silenced this and further objections.⁵² On the same day in another area of town, the Baltimore Typographical Society toasted the President and Vice-President and the embargo: "the *bar* which secures our coffers when threatened to be rifled; may it soon convince our enemies of its efficiency by debarring them of the wealth and lives of our citizens."⁵³

The tempo of party activities and differences increased in August. The *Federal Gazette* observed that ever since the Fourth of July celebrations neighbor was against neighbor as threats of hanging, drownings, and general mayhem were hurled around.⁵⁴ Soon, threats reported vicariously in the press

⁴⁸ Baltimore *Federal Republican and Commercial Advertiser*, July 25, 1808.

⁴⁹ Robert G. Harper to John Hanson Thomas, July 1808, Harper-Pennington MSS.

⁵⁰ [Baltimore] *Federal Republican and Commercial Advertiser*, July 27, 1808.

⁵¹ *The Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, Sept. 27, 1808.

⁵² [Baltimore] *The Whig*, July 6, 1808.

⁵³ *The Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 6, 1808.

⁵⁴ [Baltimore] *Federal Republican and Commercial Advertiser*, July 11, 1808.

changed to threats made by one editor against another. In the Baltimore press, party and personal insults reached violent proportions. The high Federalist sheet, the *Federal Republican* thus celebrated the entrance of rival Republican editor William Pechin into a local hospital:

It is rumored that the *little lunatic* has suddenly become so vicious and refractory; that his snarling and snapping at every thing that comes in his way, rendered it necessary for the public safety that he should be lodged in the hospital. As this ranting, foaming little jacobinical lunatic is without teeth, it is thought a pity to confine a madman that cannot bite; but the doctors pronounce it dangerous to be touched by the saliva of a madman. For the good of the city, the benefit of the army, and the honour of the nation, we trust that so valuable a citizen may have the disorder of his brains removed by a dark room, depletion and a straight jacket.⁵⁵

Pechin and the Republicans were not amused. Two months later the same *Federal Republican* asserted that a Republican had offered two hundred dollars to a local thug to have the proprietors of the paper tarred and feathered. The Federalist editors informed such "most humane mob-courting democrats" that their nerves would not give way before threats or menaces.⁵⁶

What indeed alarmed the Federalist editors was the alleged interference with their subscription agents by Republican renegades.⁵⁷ Threats had forced one agent to quit and they feared that others would follow suit. In a lighter vein, the editors deplored the theft of the *Federal Republican* from subscriber's doorsteps. It was gratifying, they admitted, that so many people wanted to read the paper, but the editors wished that this vast public would pay for their own papers.⁵⁸

In Baltimore city, both parties appealed for the minority vote. The Federalist *North American* contended that the mass of Germans in the State and city were against the embargo.⁵⁹ While they used this bandwagon technique, the Republican *Whig* tried to attract the Catholic vote. Under the heading

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Aug. 10, 1808.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1808.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, July 18, 1808.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Sept. 2, 1808.

⁵⁹ [Baltimore] *The North American and Mercantile Daily Advertiser*, Oct. 7, 1808.

"Calvert" the Republican editors accused the *North American* of shamefully ridiculing the Catholics about Friday abstention. Reputedly the *North American*, describing a public gathering, had reported that since the Catholics could not eat meat, a whale would be provided for their dinner. The *Whig* urged all Catholic voters thus slighted to mark their enemies and remember them at the polls.⁶⁰

Though both parties had been revitalized by the renewed rivalry, party regularity was by no means complete in 1808. In Baltimore city and county, there were four other Republican candidates besides the party choice of Nicholas Moore and Alexander McKim.⁶¹ Federalist candidate William Winder was joined by a Federalist freelancer Samuel Sterrett. While none of the non-ticket candidates triumphed or even rolled up a substantial vote, their mere presence was indicative of the amorphous condition of the parties.

The Federalist reports of campaign meetings and public response always pictured the party orators as conquering heroes haranguing crowds that expressed overwhelming support of embargo repeal. The electioneering in Baltimore spurred on by a highly partisan press was destined to be lively. The Federalists, finding some strength in the Baltimore County sector of the district, entered an entire slate of candidates on an "Anti-Embargo Ticket." Convinced that the embargo was the central issue, the Federalists worked to pit the city against the county. Only by winning Baltimore County by over seven hundred votes could the Federalists hope for victory.⁶²

The September 9 *Federal Republican* played on the farmer-merchant, city-county friction. At a meeting in the county six days earlier, the Federalist paper noted, William Winder's speech to the county farmers had been maliciously disrupted by some "boisterous demagogues from the city." How long, asked the *Republican*, would the countrymen stand for this interference and dictation from the city? Already the merchant was growing rich by evading the embargo; certainly he would not sympathize with the plight of the farmer. The Anti-

⁶⁰ [Baltimore] *The Whig*, Oct. 3, 1808.

⁶¹ *The Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, Aug. 24, 1808. *Federal Republican and Commercial Advertiser*, Aug. 26, 1808.

⁶² *Ibid.*, Sept. 21, 1808.

Embargo ticket and the Federalists would ease the burden of the "suffering husbandman."⁶³ Ironically, the party of Hamilton found the old tenets of Jefferson quite appealing in the Free State contests of 1808.

The *Federal Republican* reported another rally in its September 21 issue. As Republican candidate Alexander McKim finished speaking to a crowd at Slade's in the county, there were shouts of "No Embargo! No Embargo!" A fierce struggle for attention then ensued. The crowd called for Federalist leader Dorsey, but the Republicans continued to hold the floor with a "terrible bellowing of nonsense." At three other meetings *Federal Republican* reporters found not more than fifteen Republicans.⁶⁴ Similarly, the *Federal Gazette* observers counted only ten Republicans in a crowd of a hundred at a Buck's Tavern meeting. Significantly, the Federalist papers did not report the Baltimore city campaign activities.

The Republicans would apparently have little difficulty in maintaining their majority urban position. The sailors from Fell's Point, demonstrating their support, equipped a barge with bunting, flags and slogans for the edification of city voters. To dispel Federalist claims that Baltimoreans did not observe the embargo, the Republican *Whig* noted that six pipes of gin, brought into port on the brig *Sophia*, "on which TRIBUTE has been paid to Great Britain," would be publicly burned on Gallows Hill."⁶⁵

The Congressional election results in Baltimore city and county showed a convincing Republican victory. Moore and McKim both amassed over 6,500 votes, while Winder's total stopped at 1,818.⁶⁶ The revived Federalist challenge had brought six thousand more voters to the polls. Republicans remained dominant in the most heavily populated and most influential area of the State. Winder's vote, though small, was large enough to persuade the Federalists that it might be profitable to try again in 1810.

The Federalists made more tangible gains in Frederick County. The Republican organization had begun electioneering early. In September, each of the nine districts of the county

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Sept. 9, 1808.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Sept. 21, 1808.

⁶⁵ [Baltimore] *The Whig*, Oct. 4, 1808.

⁶⁶ Congressional election returns, 1808, Executive Papers, H. R.

sent representatives to the nominating and policy meeting of the party in Frederick.⁶⁷ Though no notice of a Federalist meeting was carried in the press, a party ticket was sponsored and announced in handbills distributed throughout the area.⁶⁸ As in Baltimore, the issue was the embargo. Federalists cried about unjust deprivation and suffering, while the Republicans insisted that American honor and pride could not bow to Britain.⁶⁹ As in Baltimore, party regularity was challenged by several candidates.

A jump from 60 to 84 per cent in Frederick's voting in the Congressional and Assembly election illustrated the warmth of the county contest.⁷⁰ Heavy balloting returned Republican incumbent Roger Nelson to Congress; almost paradoxically, since the Assembly and Congressional voting occurred simultaneously, Frederick elected four Federalists to the General Assembly. Hailing the party's partial victory, the Federalist *Frederick-Town Herald* took the occasion to exhort the voters to be "no more slaves to party."⁷¹ Apparently the Federalists were conceding that Frederick remained dominantly Republican.

In Montgomery, Anne Arundel, Prince George's, Harford, Cecil and Kent counties, the Federalists nominated Congressional challengers to the Republican incumbents. On the Eastern Shore, the entrenched Federalist Charles Goldsborough was faced with increased Republican opposition. In all of these counties the embargo had stirred up a lively party fight that had been almost non-existent two years before. Despite all the electioneering, however, and renewed party interest, the Maryland representation in Congress remained at a 6-3 Republican advantage.

Nevertheless, for the first time in eight years, the Federalists became the majority in the General Assembly. Counting an estimated 43 Federalist delegates to 37 Republicans, the Federalists were understandably elated. As usual the *Federal Republican* commented colorfully on the victory. Somewhat dramatically the editor asserted that the Federalists would not

⁶⁷ Frederick *The Independent American Volunteer*, Sept. 14, 1808.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1808.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 7, 1808.

⁷⁰ J. R. Pole, "Constitutional Reform and Election Statistics in Maryland, 1790-1812," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LV (Dec. 1960), 289-90.

⁷¹ *Frederick-Town Herald*, Oct. 8, 1808.

celebrate as the rowdy Republicans were wont to do. They would not carry triumphal candidates through the streets on wheeled boats; but the party would "rejoice in those strains of rapturous and enthusiastic joy which swell the proud feelings of every man, when he sees a whole nation of freemen emerging from a state of vassalage and misery."⁷² At Gadsby's Tavern a group of Baltimore Federalists more solidly celebrated their good fortune at the polls with patriotic and "sentimental" songs interspersed with numerous toasts to the return of the prodigal Free State to the true political faith.⁷³

The results of the balloting for Presidential electors were more sobering for the Federalists. In only the two traditionally conservative Southern and Eastern Shore districts did they return party choices. In Frederick County, the Republican candidates John Tyler and Nathaniel Rochester just eked out victory over John Lynn and Roger B. Taney by 130 votes. To the Republican *Independent American Volunteer* this result was nevertheless a resounding response to Federalist calumnies and tricks during the electioneering.⁷⁴ The nine Republican electors held to the party choice and voted for Madison and Clinton. The other two Maryland electoral votes went to Federalists C. C. Pinckney and Rufus King.⁷⁵

With the conflicting results in the Congressional and local elections, varying interpretations could be expected. The Republicans naturally argued that the party was still sound and dominant in the Free State. At Annapolis the Republican-dominated Senate chose to interpret the Maryland vote as supporting the embargo and the Jefferson administration.⁷⁶ The newly elected Federalist House of Delegates chose to disagree.

The two house debate raged throughout the November session of 1808. Did the 1808 vote endorse the embargo or condemn it? The Senate, which had promptly issued an endorsement of administration policy, explained their position to the lower house. In a barrage of statistics, the upper chamber

⁷² [Baltimore] *Federal Republican and Commercial Advertiser*, Oct. 10, 1808.

⁷³ *The Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 7, 1808.

⁷⁴ [Frederick] *The Independent American Volunteer*, Nov. 16, 1808.

⁷⁵ John T. Scharf, *History of Maryland From the Earliest Period to the Present Day* (Baltimore, 1879), II, 631.

⁷⁶ Maryland, *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate*, November session, 1808, p. 10.

argued that over 4,000 Maryland votes had been cast for Congressional candidates supporting the embargo than for the opposition. They also pointed to more than a 5,000 vote majority for the Republican Presidential electors. On these grounds, surely the balloting had sanctioned the embargo.⁷⁷ The Federalist House of Delegates challenged these conclusions.

Hinting at the Republican gerrymandering of the election districts, the Federalist delegates asserted that the voter had been deluded by the Republicans into thinking that the embargo would be swiftly repealed. The House, fresh from the polls, then accused the Senate, elected several years before, of losing touch with the people.⁷⁸

After complaining of the deplorable state of Maryland's agriculture, the drooping American flag over decaying ships in the harbor, the mass of unemployed seamen, the depression in industry, and the "awful, calamitous and irretrievable" impact of the embargo, the House of Delegates passed a stiff condemnation of it.

The increasing difficulties in enforcing the embargo provisions in Baltimore seemed to underscore the House of Delegates' view that the Free State wanted an end to commercial restriction. The correspondence between the Collector of Baltimore and Treasury head Albert Gallatin in 1808 reflected an increasing recurrence of violations. American shipping, cleared from Baltimore, continued to stop in remote Chesapeake coves and harbors to load illegal cargoes. Foreign shipping after depositing its cargo seemed suspiciously content to sail with nothing but ballast.⁷⁹ Obviously, these vessels were finding more lucrative loading areas down the bay. Citing the growing unpopularity of the embargo, Baltimore merchant William Patterson feared that if the measure were not soon repealed, revolution, civil war or the return of Federalist dominance was certain.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

⁷⁸ Maryland, *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates*, November session, 1808, pp. 51-58.

⁷⁹ Collector James McCulloch to Gallatin, April 19, 1808, Letters to and from the Collector of Baltimore, Treasury Department Archives, Washington, D. C.

⁸⁰ William Patterson to Wilson Cary Nicholas, Dec. 1, 1808 cited in Sears, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

The majority of Congress returned to Washington for the fall session of 1808 determined to legislate the dying embargo out of existence. Free State Republicans Sam Smith and Roger Nelson fought a determined but unsuccessful rear guard action against repeal.⁸¹ In February, the vote on the substitute non-intercourse plan, restricting trade only to belligerents, received the 7-1 approval of Maryland representatives.⁸² Neither Federalist nor Republican Congressmen seemed wholly satisfied with this watered-down, face-saving proposal.⁸³ Not unexpectedly, it would prove as difficult to enforce as the embargo.⁸⁴

But, with the repeal of the embargo, the superior political organization of the Republicans was once again able to control a majority in Congress and in Annapolis. The Federalists, a party once more in search of a vote-getting issue, would not be a political power in Maryland until the controversy and confusion of the War of 1812.

⁸¹ U. S., *Annals of Congress*, Senate, 10th Congress, 2d session, pp. 138-9; House of Representatives, *ibid.*, pp. 1257-8.

⁸² Sears, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

⁸³ U. S., *Annals of Congress*, House of Representatives, 10th Congress, 2d session, p. 1502. See also John Montgomery to General E. F. Chambers, Feb. 28, 1809, Vertical File, Md. Hist. Soc.

⁸⁴ Anonymous letter to Gallatin, Nov. 14, 1809, Original Letters to the Collectors of Baltimore, Treasury Department Archives, Washington, D. C.

BALTIMORE CITY PLACE NAMES

Part 3

STONY RUN, ITS PLANTATIONS, FARMS, COUNTRY SEATS AND MILLS

By WILLIAM B. MARYE

THE populous valley, or watershed, partly urban, partly suburban, which is the subject of this short history—the valley of Stony Run—includes the whole, or a part, of a large number of Baltimore's "show-places," among which are to be numbered: Roland Park, which is known beyond our borders; Guilford, lovely and expensive; Blythewood; Homeland; Evergreen House, late the estate of the John W. Garretts; the colleges of Notre Dame and Loyola; the grounds of the new Cathedral of Mary Our Queen; Kernwood; the Gilman Country School grounds; the Bryn Mawr School grounds; the spacious property of the Maryland Casualty Company, one of the first of our local experiments in decentralization; Sherwood Gardens, which are included in Guilford; and, last but not least, Homewood, the seat of Johns Hopkins University.¹ Here, in this valley, cemeteries are not omnipresent, to depress the spirits of the living, nor do numerous institutions for the aged, the infirm, or the insane, as in parts of Catonsville, cast a pall. For all this, our valley is not without contrasts, economic and aesthetic, for it embraces a part of Hampden of which its most loyal inhabitants can hardly say that it is beautiful.

Three centuries ago, settlements of white people at the head of tidewater on the Patapsco were just beginning to be made, and no lands in the Stony Run valley had been taken up. It was still a wilderness, bounded east and west by other valleys, equally desolate, mournful, mysterious, hostile and forbidding.

¹ The grounds of Johns Hopkins University lie astride the "divide" between the valley of Stony Run and that of Sumwalt Run. Two little "spring branches," one of which rises in the old Wyman springhouse (now gone) behind Levering Hall, the other, close to the tennis courts, come down from "Homewood" and empty into Stony Run in Wyman Park.

Wild beasts, now long extinct in these parts, roamed this valley, unmolested by man—bears, wolves and panthers. So, too, the beaver, and it is not going too far to imagine a beaver pond, or two, on Stony Run in its late wilderness days.

The aura of the wilderness began to leave this valley when the wolf and the panther visited it no more, and it was gone forever when the stories related by grandpa and grandma to their descendants about these fierce wild beasts were told no more:²

When I was just turn'd nine, I well recall,
('Twas eighty years ago this comin' Fall)
They killed a painter up on yonder hill,
Where the crick rises and it's but a rill.
Since then, these eighty years, upon my word,
In all this valley none's been seen nor heard.
'Twas all one woods to Grayson's gravel pit,
And more'n a dozen farms' been made of it."

The young man and his friends took leave. He said:
Granpa is dodderin'. He'll soon be dead.
I seen a history book what made it clear,
There never was no panthers aroun' here.
By gosh! I'm tired of that old-timey stuff.
You're welcome to it. Me, I've had enough.
So passed, that day, morose and comfortless,
The spectre of the ancient wilderness.³

² Henry David Thoreau would bear me out. In his journal of a visit, which he paid to the Maine woods in the year 1857, he makes the following comment: "Some friends of mine who two years ago went up the Caucomgoc River [one of the sources of the West Branch of the Penobscot, near the borders of the Province of Quebec], were serenaded by wolves while moose hunting by moonlight. It was a sudden burst as if a hundred demons had broke loose. . . . They heard it twice only, and they said it gave expression to the wilderness which it lacked before," *Works of Henry David Thoreau* (Riverside Edition, Cambridge, Mass., 1893), p. 307.

³ "The Retreat of the Wilderness," *Farewell to Life*, by the author (Baltimore, Md., N. D.). In this connection mention may be made of a wolf-pit which was situated between the Falls Road and Jones's Falls, near the northern limits of Woodberry, and a short distance to the west of the Stony Run watershed. Among the proceedings of a land commission, which was held in order to determine and fix the bounds of a tract of land called "Daniel's Whimsey," we find the deposition of John Cole, Sr., recorded in 1741 and taken not earlier than 1740. (Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Liber H. W. S. No. 4, f. 58.) This deponent testified that "John Christian shewed him a bounded spanish oak standing in the line of Roberts Park near a wolf pitt and told him it was the third bounded tree of Daniells Whimsey." Cole gave his age as sixty-seven. It seems to be a fair inference that the wolf pit was still to be seen and that it was recognizable, when John Cole made this deposition, and that he



DAM AT FOOT OF BLYTHEWOOD POND, LATE 19TH CENTURY

(Courtesy of Mrs. George Weems Williams)

GEOGRAPHICAL

The combined waters of all the brooks of Baltimore City which have been covered over entirely and, in some cases, have long since disappeared from sight, would make an English "river." Stony Run is the last of the larger city affluents of that degraded little river, Jones's Falls, which still remains, for the greater part of its length of three and a half miles, an open stream. It comes out of a conduit and empties into the "Falls" about a hundred yards below the Twenty-Ninth Street bridge. Its valley extends to a width of a mile and a quarter, between Roland Avenue and the York Road. The source of the run lies in the golf course of the Elkridge Fox-Hunting Club, about nine hundred feet north of Lake Avenue.⁴ Blind ditches and storm sewers conduct its headwaters southwards as far as Melrose Avenue, where the run emerges into the sunlight; but its

showed it to the commissioners. "Daniel's Whimsey," 200 acres, was surveyed for John Cole, 29 Nov., 1694 (Land Office of Maryland, Patent Records for Land, Liber P.L. No. G, f. 149). On 18 Oct., 1737, John Cole, Sr., and John Cole, Jr., sold "Daniels Whimsey," 100 acres, to John Ensor. (Baltimore County Land Records, Liber H.W.S. No. 1. A., f. 25.) The consideration was £25. (The aforesaid John Cole, Sr., was John Ensor's "father in law." (Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Liber H.W.S. No. 4, f. 196.) On 25 Oct., 1759, John Ensor conveyed these 100 acres, part of "Daniel's Whimsey," to his son, Joseph Ensor, of Cecil County, merchant, for a consideration of £100. (Baltimore County Land Records, Lib. B. No. J. folio 140.) On August 14, 1762, this land was resurveyed for Joseph Ensor, together with part of "Ensor's Struggle," surveyed for him, 10 April 1761, and containing $7\frac{1}{4}$ acres (Land Office of Maryland, Patented Certificate 1595, Baltimore County). The resurvey contained $215\frac{1}{2}$ acres. (Land Office of Maryland, Patented Certificate No. 4382, Baltimore County). The name of the resurvey was "Seedticks Plenty." Joseph Ensor's part of "Daniel's Whimsey" was found to contain 176 acres, $49\frac{1}{2}$ acres of which, vacant land, were included in the resurvey. "Seed Ticks Plenty" includes a large part of Hampden and Woodberry. Years ago this author's friend, the late Edward V. Coonan, one time Surveyor for Baltimore City, informed me that the beginning of "Seed Ticks Plenty," which was also the beginning of "Daniel's Whimsey" and a boundary of "Roberts' Park," stood at the intersection of Merryman's Lane (Fortieth Street) and the Falls Road, in Woodberry. With this information in hand the site of the third boundary of "Daniel's Whimsey," near the wolf-pit, works out as follows: adjoining the northern limits of Woodberry between Jones's Falls and the Falls Road, but much nearer the former, and a little to the east of the lower end of a deep bend of the Falls which is crossed by the Northern Central Division of the Pennsylvania Rail Road, on high ground, close to a declivity descending to the Falls. In the *Md. Hist. Mag.* (September, 1955), p. 249, the site is incorrectly given by me as at, or near, the Hampden Reservoir.

⁴ The source of Stony Run in what is now the golf course of the Elk Ridge Fox Hunting Club ("The Kennels") is clearly shown on D. M. Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore City and Its Environs* (1876), p. 94, Plate Y. This place was at that time a farm belonging to Ex-Governor Bradford, and was called "Montevideo." It had lately belonged to the Wilson family and was a part of "Springvale."

course under ground may be traced by means of depressions and hollows, and the name of Stony Run Lane serves to remind us that it is there. Between Lake and Belvedere Avenues Stony Run receives contributions from seven or eight springs, two springhouses, a pump house and a walled spring. The Indian Spring⁵ reminds us of the fact that this was once indeed a well-watered section of the valley,⁶ and justify the pleasant, restful old name of the place, Springvale.⁷

⁵ Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore City and Its Environs*, 1876, Vol. 1, Plate Y, shows one of these spring houses on the William C. Wilson farm, "Springvale." For the name of the spring called the Indian Spring I am indebted to Mr. Douglas Huntly Gordon, whose family owned this place and called it "The Orchards." There was a spring of the same name on Homeland, which discharged into the lowest of the six ponds. Years ago a few Indian arrowheads were found near it. This information comes from the late Washington Perine, of "Homeland." It is by no means to be inferred that these names are purely fanciful, although they may be so. Examples from Maryland seventeenth and early eighteenth century records are not wanting, so that it seems by no means impossible that these "Indian Springs" are place-names of considerable antiquity. The examples which have come to hand are as follows:

"Waterford," surveyed for Stephen Murty, St. Mary's County, on Brittons Bay, May 24, 1676; mention of "the Indian Spring." (Land Office of Maryland, Patent Records for Land.) Deposition on "Mill Land," Brittons Bay, mentions "the Indian Spring." (Chancery Proceedings, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md., Liber P.L., 1712-1724, f. 738.) A Survey made for Arthur Wright and John Wakefield, on St. Leonard's Creek, Calvert County, July 28, 1651, calls for "the Indian Spring" (Land Office of Maryland, Patent Records for Land, Liber A. B. & H., f. 144.) Resurvey made for John Wingfield on six original surveys in Calvert County June 18, 1706, mentions "a spring called the Indian Spring" (Calvert Papers No. 882, Rent Roll, Calvert County, Md., f. 73). Anne Arundel County "Judgments," Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md., Liber V. D. No. 1, 1714-1716, f. 167: mention of a spring on South River called "the Indian Spring." Will of Michael Webster of Baltimore County, dated September 13, 1751: testator leaves to son, Michael Webster, Jr., part of "Webster's Inlargement," which lies "to the south of a branch called the Indian Spring branch which descends into James's Run." (Wills, Baltimore County, Liber 2, f. 248.) James's Run, now in Harford County, is a well known stream which unites with Bynam's Run.

⁶ We are informed by Mr. Leonard Curry, head gardener, for many years, at the Bryn Mawr School property, that since the introduction of sewers into the Orchard's "development," there has been a very noticeable decrease in the flow of Stony Run above Belvedere Avenue and a tendency to go dry in summer, although in times past many people depended on the head springs of Stony Run for their water supply. I, myself, have often seen Stony Run dry above Belvedere Avenue during hot, mid-summer months, when rain was scarce. On the other hand, I have never known the little spring branch, which rises west of the M. & P. R. R. tracks, and empties into Stony Run a very short distance north of Belvedere Avenue, to go dry. Mr. Curry informed me that the head spring of this branch was regularly used by the people of the neighborhood at one time. My observations were made during the summers of 1944-1947, when I was hunting for Indian artifacts on the Bryn Mawr School Indian camp site (q.v.).

The building of these storm sewers put an end to a process which had been going on for a long time. An anonymous writer comments on this process in a

Within the drainage basin of Stony Run lies all the land bounded by Lake, Belvedere and Roland Avenues, and Charles Street, except its northwestern corner. The watershed embraces virtually all of Roland Park east of Roland Avenue, the northern part of Guilford,⁸ and the eastern part of Hampden.

The principal tributary of Stony Run is the Homeland branch, at present without a name,⁹ which rises in the northwestern corner of Homeland, near Belvedere Avenue, and flows through Homeland from north to south, crosses Homeland Avenue and runs thence to Stony Run through several well known properties, *viz*, Cedar Lawn, the former Albert estate; the Notre Dame School grounds and gardens; Evergreen-on-the-Avenue, the former John W. Garrett Estate, where the Homeland Branch makes its way down a beautiful, wooded hollow; the Crocker place, now the site of the Charleston Hall Apartments, under which the stream now flows in a tunnel. Much to be lamented is the venerable, spreading white oak

work published in Paris in the year 1801, as follows: (he is speaking of Pennsylvania and of New York State): "*Le tarissement des ruisseaux, qui ne vienne par des terriens élevés, l'entière disparition d'un grand nombre, sont l'effet du dessèchement des marais et du défrichements des terres. Cette diminution commence même à se faire sentir dans les grandes rivières telles que La Delaware, le Potawmack. J'ai vu des ruines de moulins au milieu des champs où vignent ans auparavant couloient de gros ruisseaux, et cependant il tombe beaucoup plus d'eau annuellement ici qu'en Europe. Que sera le chose dans un siècle ou deux?*" (*Voyage dans La Haute Pennsylvanie et dans L'Etat de New York*, par un Membre adoptif de la Nation Onéida. Traduit et publié par l'auteur des Lettres d'un Cultivateur American [Paris, 1801, Tome Premier], Chapitre IV, Note 4.)

⁷ See under "Gaston or Springdale." The name of Springvale is to be found on a *Map of the City and County of Baltimore*, 1850, by James M. Stephens, Publisher, after surveys made by J. C. Sidney. At that time, Mr. James Wilson was the owner of this farm and his son, William C. Wilson, was the occupant.

⁸ No separate chapter on Guilford has been added to this history, because full justice to the subject has already been done by Mr. J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul in a most interesting and charming article which appeared in the March, 1956, issue of this *Magazine*. Among the illustrations which accompany this article is a beautiful photograph of the Guilford boatlake, part of the site of which is now occupied by the famous Sherwood Gardens. The stream which fed this lake ranks second, in point of length (and perhaps, also, in point of volume), among the tributaries of Stony Run. It emerges from a conduit into the light of day in a wooded area west of Charles Street and north of Highfield Road, flows underground again, and joins Stony Run a very short distance above the University Parkway bridge.

⁹ The Homeland branch is called "the Schoolhouse Branch" in the certificate of survey of a tract of land called "Bryan's Chance," surveyed for Henry Morgan, August 21, 1743, which we shall have occasion to mention later (Land Office of Maryland, Patented Certificate No. 832, Baltimore County). This land lies across the intersection of Charles Street and Cold Spring Lane. The Land Office of Maryland will hereafter be referred to as L. O. M.

which stood on the last named property, on a declivity, on the south side of the stream, in view of Charles Street Avenue. Lastly, there was Linkwood, the estate of the late Dr. Hugh Hampton Young, part of which is now occupied by the tall and extensive Wynnewood Apartments facing Cold Spring Lane. The distinguishing feature of this place used to be the truly superb tulip poplar trees, which towered on the hillside looking towards Stony Run and the Lane. Some time after Dr. Young's death the place was sold and these trees were all cut down; soon, few will remember them.¹⁰

The place where Stony Run and the Homeland branch meet lies about a hundred yards above the Stony Run bridge on Cold Spring Lane. The Homeland branch is the shorter of the two, but I doubt if its volume was ever much less than that of Stony Run. Along its way it receives tribute from a considerable number of spring branches, the longest of which rises on the former Robert Garrett estate in a spring which is still covered by an old springhouse, visible from the Avenue.¹¹

By the union of Stony Run and the Homeland branch was formed the mill stream on which in times past stood no less than four gristmills—three at one and the same time—of which mention will be made later. Impartial assessors, as we shall see, considered Stony Run to be not very dependable as a mill-stream, too feeble to perform the work which was expected of it. Nevertheless these mills were built, and there seems to be no reason to believe that their builders were fools.

REMARKS ON THE QUALITY OF THE LAND IN THE STONY RUN VALLEY

There was a generous amount of middling, if not poor land, in the watershed of Stony Run. The author has observed gravelly land in the the southwestern corner field of Homeland which bordered on Homeland Avenue; on the Crocker and Loyola College estates, at Charles Street and Cold Spring Lane; and in Guilford, at Bedford Place. And if he is not mistaken,

¹⁰ Several superb examples of this native tree may still be seen in this watershed on Blythewood and on the Bryn Mawr School property.

¹¹ The site of this old spring house is shown on Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore City and Its Environs*, 1876, estate of William S. G. Baker, lately known as "Attica," then called "Windhurst (q.v.).

he has seen scrub pines growing in a wooded section of the college grounds, a "sure sign" of poor land. Mr. Emmanuel M. Crocker tells me that, within his recollection, there was a gravel pit, of which much use was made, situated on the southern side of Cold Spring Lane, opposite to his family place. Hereabouts, in the middle parts of the valley, a considerable quantity of land remained "vacant," *i. e.*, not taken up, until the fourth decade of the eighteenth century, or even later, a certain sign that it was considered to be of little value. This land, lying vacant so late, was taken up as follows: "Bryan's Chance," 1742 (parts of Crocker's, Loyola College grounds, the northern part of Guilford, and Kernwood); part of "Sheredine's Discovery," 1743; "Garritson's Meadows," 1769, "Cox's Paradise," 1772; and "Brian's Meadows," 1758. "Brian's Chance," "Ridgely's Whim," "Garritson's Meadows," "Cox's Paradise," and Sheredine's Discovery" made up the northern section of Guilford—all vacant land before 1742—including the valley of the Guilford branch of Stony Run. "Brian's Meadows" lies east of the Homeland branch of Stony Run, between it and the York Road, and contains ninety-eight acres, comprising most of the eastern part of Homeland. It is known, and it is significant in this connection, that in early historical times a "barrens"—probably a very extensive barrens—encroached upon the upper parts of what is now Guilford, if it did not actually include the whole area.¹² On the other hand, the upper section of the watershed of Stony Run was esteemed by the early settlers of that part of Baltimore County to be valuable land, to judge by the fact that it was taken up mostly within the bounds of several tracts of land which were surveyed during the last decade of the seventeenth century, namely, "Morgan's Delight," 1694, "Vauxhall," 1694, and "Job's Addition," 1695. Yet, we wonder if this theory holds good entirely, when we observe that in a Particular Tax List of Patapsco Lower Hundred, c. 1799-1800,¹³ the assessors set a very low value on parts of these lands:

Daniel Evans' part of "Vauxhall," 138 acres (actually part of "Vauxhall," part of "Addition to Vauxhall" and part of

¹² Some Baltimore City Place Names, *Md. Hist. Mag.* (December, 1959), p. 354.

¹³ This manuscript is in the possession of the *Md. Hist. Soc.*

"Morgan's Delight"), is set down as "thin land." James Bryan's 600 acres, which included part of what was later Homeland, is entered with the comment "the land thin." Philip Woolrich's part of "Vauxhall," 100 acres, is described as "Land poor & no timber." This last is the site of the new Cathedral of Mary Our Queen.

The time is past when lands in this valley will be judged from an agricultural point of view. Their fertility no longer matters.

STONY RUN FISHES AND FISH PONDS

It must be obvious that, at this late date, any information on this subject would be hard to get. Pools on the lower reaches of Stony Run strongly suggest a trout stream; but if there were ever any brook trout in Stony Run it is a safe guess that it is many a long year since they were there.¹⁴ There were fish in some of the tributary streams of the Stony Run watershed within the memory of persons now living. I am informed by Mr. Emmanuel Crocker that there were eels, catfish, "and other fish" in the Homeland branch within his recollection. Years ago Messrs. J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul, John Brady and his brother, the late S. Stansbury Brady, when students at the Country School for Boys (now Gilman Country School), at Homewood, caught a large eel in a pool of the Guilford branch of Stony Run, a short distance west of Charles Street Avenue. It weighed seven and a half pounds. The late Mr. J. Paul Baker, whose memory of Wyndhurst (now or lately "Attica"), and its neighborhood went back to 1866, told the author that a boy of the Alder¹⁵ family used to catch fish with his hands in Stony Run. There is no doubt that the millponds belonging to Paradise Mill, Rossiter Scott's mill and Union Mill (*q. v.*) stocked

¹⁴ Many years ago this author was informed by his cousin, the late William Brogden, a native of Long Green, that the Long Green Run had once been a trout stream. I have fished most of the beautiful, rocky pools of the lower reaches of Long Green Run, and never saw a sign of a trout. There were many suckers in the big pool at the mouth of this run. The explanation of the disappearance of trout in this stream, which was given me by Mr. Brogden, was waste from canning houses and fertilizers, and I should like to add, the warming-up in summer of the upper reaches of the run, where its valley is largely deforested.

¹⁵ The Alder family lived on a farm, part of "Vauxhall," situated in the north west corner of the intersection of Roland (formerly Maryland) Avenue and Wyndhurst Avenue, and was related to the Evans. These were among the "real," "old time" country people of those parts.

themselves with fish and were the resort of fishermen. The pleasure ponds, of which there were not less than fifteen worthy of mention (ten on the Homeland branch), came later. The lowermost of the six ponds on Homeland was a fish pond.¹⁶ The large pond or lake on the Albert estate, Cedar Lawn, south of Homeland Avenue, appears to have been stocked with bass.¹⁷ The largest of all the Stony Run ponds, which was situated on "Attica," immediately below Wyndhurst Avenue, formerly known as Cedar Lane, was a resort of fishermen. The lowermost and larger of the two ponds on Blythewood was stocked with fish.¹⁸

THE SEVERAL NAMES OF STONY RUN

In the course of its uneventful history as a stream known to white men, Stony Run has been called by no less than five different names, including the present one. In the earliest record which has come to hand it is called the Great Run. This record is the certificate of survey of "Merryman's Beginning," which was laid out for Charles Merryman, February 5th, 1704.¹⁹ Not long afterwards, in the certificate of survey of "Mount Pleasant," 150 acres laid out for Nicholas Haile, February 27, 1704,

¹⁶ This information was given to the author by the late Mr. Washington Perine, of Homeland, in 1943.

¹⁷ Many years ago (over fifty) the late Mrs. Alexander Crawford Smith, Sr., who was Miss Dora Albert, told the author that once, when she was taking a ride in a row-boat on this pond, a large bass jumped into the boat.

¹⁸ Letter, J. Hooper Edmondson to George Weems Williams, Nov. 17, 1932, courtesy of Mrs. George Weems Williams; kindly transmitted to me by Mr. J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul. The Edmondsons owned Blythewood (*q.v.*).

¹⁹ L. O. M. Patent Records for Land (hereafter referred to as P. R. L.), Liber C. D., f. 173. Under a writ of *ad quod damnum* an inquisition was held on 24 March 1739, on behalf of Messrs. John Ensor and William Fell, in order to enable them to take up twenty acres of land situated "on each side of a Run of Water called the Great Run, running into Jones Falls in Baltimore County." (Writs of *Ad Quod Damnum*, Chancery Records, Liber L. R. No. 4, f. 56, L. O. M.) The certificate of survey of "Ridgely's Whim," 990 acres (being a resurvey on "Merryman's Beginning"), laid out for Captain Charles Ridgely, 4 February, 1744, calls for the Great Run. (L. O. M. Patented Certificate No. 4158, Baltimore County). The Great Run is called for in the certificate of survey of "Adjonction," surveyed for Joseph Merryman, October 4, 1769. (L. O. M. Patented Certificate No. 282, Baltimore County.) This land was later part of Rossiter Scott's mill-seat (*q.v.*). It lies in Wyman Park. On a plat, based on a survey made by Joseph Ensor and Job Garrison, June 20th, 1770, the course of "Great Run" between its mouth and a point somewhat above the site of University Parkway is shown. This plat is the property of the Md. Hist. Soc. and is filed under "Maccubbin-Carroll Papers" (?) It will be mentioned again, later.

it is mentioned under the name of "the Mill Run."²⁰ The name seems, perhaps, to imply that a mill was already standing on Stony Run, and it may well be so, although no record of any such mill has been found by this author. The name, Mill Run, apparently, does not occur again in any surviving record, and Great Run was the name of Stony Run for many years. Ensor's Run is the next name with which we have to deal. It is endorsed on a map styled "Plat of the Baltimore Company's Lands at Mount Royal," which is dated, 27 August, 1785.²¹ By that time the Ensor family had parted with its lands in this valley. I take it that the name, Ensor's Run, came into use long before this date. Not later than 1739 John Ensor (c. 1694-1773) was certainly in possession of a part of "Mount Pleasant," situated on both sides of Stony Run, where today University Parkway crosses the stream.²² In 1750 he owned one-half of "Mount Pleasant," which, in 1773 passed by inheritance to his son, Joseph Ensor.²³ Hence, the name, Ensor's Run, which con-

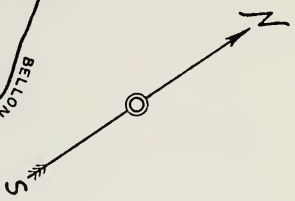
²⁰ L. O. M., P. R. L., Liber D. D. No. 5, f. 201.

²¹ This plat, the work of Cornelius Howard, the brother of Col. John Eager Howard, was lately on file in the Municipal Office Building, Baltimore, Maryland. The author is indebted to the late Edward V. Coonan for a copy.

²² See Note 19. See also under "Scott's Mill."

²³ So far as the records go, John Ensor's first connection with this neighborhood was established in 1737, when he bought part of "Daniel's Whimsey" of his father-in-law, John Cole, Sr. (Note 3). This land, as we have seen, was resurveyed for his son, Joseph, in 1761, and called "Seed Ticks Plenty." A small part of "Seed Ticks Plenty" lies within the Stony Run valley. Nicholas Haile left "Mount Pleasant" between his daughters Hannah and Ann. His will was dated, 27 Feb., 1729/30, and was proved, 18 April, 1730 (Baldwin, Maryland Calendar of Wills, Vol. 6, pp. 162, 163). To his daughters, Millisant and Sabbiner, he left "Haile's Folly," "on Stony Run." This Stony Run, it should be observed, is not our Stony Run, but Jenkins' Run. Ensor did not marry one of these daughters who inherited "Mount Pleasant," and how he acquired one-half of it is unknown. He married Elizabeth ———, by whom he had eleven children, including Joseph, born 11 April, 1730 (Saint Paul's Register, Baltimore County). In his will dated 10 April, 1771, proved, 11 March, 1773, John Ensor left to his son, Joseph, 75 acres, part of "Mount Pleasant." In 1750 Ensor was taxed as owner of this parcel of land (Baltimore County Debt Book, 1750, Calvert Papers No. 904, f. 87). Joseph Ensor married, April 7, 1757, Mary Bouchelle, daughter of a well known Labadist, of Cecil County, and a direct descendant of Augustine Herman of Bohemia Manor. Johnson, in his History of Cecil County, Maryland, says of him, that in 1768 he seems "to have been in the undisturbed possession of one undivided half of the manor [Bohemia Manor] for in that year he mortgaged it and some other land in Baltimore County, a part of which was called by the curious name of 'Seed Ticks Plenty,' to Charles Carroll of Carrollton for £3,191" (History of Cecil County, Md., p. 182). "The time of Ensor's death is uncertain, but it occurred about the close of the Revolutionary war. He lived at the manor for some years previous to his death, and was probably buried there" (*ibid.*). The Rev. Charles Payson Mallery, the leading authority on Bohemia Manor, tells us that Ensor mort-

ROLAND
LAKE
POWDER
MILL
ROAD
OR
BELLONA
AVENUE



INSTOWN
RANCH OF

ONE
MILE

it is mentioned under the name of "the Mill Run."²⁰ The name seems, perhaps, to imply that a mill was already standing on Stony Run, and it may well be so, although no record of any such mill has been found by this author. The name, Mill Run, apparently, does not occur again in any surviving record, and Great Run was the name of Stony Run for many years. Ensor's Run is the next name with which we have to deal. It is endorsed on a map styled "Plat of the Baltimore Company's Lands at Mount Royal," which is dated, 27 August, 1785.²¹ By that time the Ensor family had parted with its lands in this valley. I take it that the name, Ensor's Run, came into use long before this date. Not later than 1739 John Ensor (c. 1694-1773) was certainly in possession of a part of "Mount Pleasant," situated on both sides of Stony Run, where today University Parkway crosses the stream.²² In 1750 he owned one-half of "Mount Pleasant," which, in 1773 passed by inheritance to his son, Joseph Ensor.²³ Hence, the name, Ensor's Run, which con-

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tinued in use down to the middle of the past century. Stony Run, the present and only surviving name of our stream, came into use as early as 1806.²⁴ I have no record of Union Run earlier than 1851.²⁵ It was the last of the earlier names of Stony Run to contend with the present name for supremacy; or so it would seem from the records in hand.

Whether or no this struggle of names for survival has turned out for the best is a question of taste. "Great Run," had it survived, would serve to endow the wasted rivulet with a certain pathos, recalling times long past and much departed beauty. "Union Run" would have served a historical purpose, calling to mind one of Stony Run's four known grist mills. "Ensor's Run" would have saved from oblivion the memory of the Ensor family's connection with this former millstream. Stony Run is to my mind the least interesting of all, but it is not without merit, poetical in its simple way. In exchange for what we have, we might have had: Haile's Run, Merryman's Run, Scott's Run, Van Bibber's Run, Ridgely's Run, Wyman's Run or Mankin's Run. None of these would have been really bad.

gaged his half of Bohemia Manor, April 9, 1764, together with certain lands in Baltimore County, including "Seed Ticks Plenty," on which he then lived (Mallery, Bohemia Manor Collections, Paragraph 1395). There is in the possession of the Md. Hist. Soc. a letter of Joseph Ensor, dated Baltimore Town, Nov. 20, 1769, to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, on which Mr. Carroll has endorsed certain information about Ensor's lands, including the following: that "he has likewise purchased of Wm. Carter 105 acres part of Merryman's lot adjoining Mount Pleasant 3 miles from Balt Town." The aforesaid Carter married Hannah Haile, August 21, 1729 (St. Paul's register, Baltimore County). That part of "Merryman's Lot" was later called Lyliendale; later still, "Homewood," and is the land on which the buildings of Johns Hopkins University are situated. Ensor obtained a "deed of lease and release" for part of "Merryman's Lott from Neale Haile, son of Nicholas Haile, 11 April, 1771 (Provincial Court Proceedings, Liber D.D. No. 5, f. 150. Courtesy of the late Arthur Trader, Administrative Assistant, L. O. M.). On June 27, 1771, he mortgaged to Charles Carroll of Carrollton certain lands in Baltimore County, including "Mount Pleasant, 150 acres, and "Merryman's Lot," 105 acres (*ibid.*, f. 194. Courtesy of Mr. Trader). A plat drawn by Joseph Ensor and Job Garrettson in the year 1770, shows divers lands belonging to Ensor, all in one body, including "Mount Pleasant" and "Seed ticks Plenty," adjoining one another, and part of Merryman's Lot, 105 acres. On the latter there is a drawing of a house, the first known drawing of a house on what was later Homewood. This house was situated, I should say, pretty close to the site of the former botanical garden at Homewood. The aforesaid plat is the property of the Md. Hist. Soc. and is filed among the Maccubbin-Carroll Papers. It will be referred to later under "Ensor's and Fell's Mill." A daughter of Joseph and Mary (Bouchelle) Ensor married Major Edward Oldham, of Cecil County. A son, Joseph Ensor, Jr., was declared *non compos mentis* in 1782 (*Maryland Journal*, March 12, 1782). The young man is described as "the heir at law of Mr. Joseph Ensor late of

AN INDIAN CAMP SITE OF THE ARCHAIC PERIOD [?]:
BRYN MAWR SCHOOL PROPERTY

This site, not above an acre in extent, is a hilltop, and adjacent land, sloping to the north. To the east the land falls precipitously to more or less level ground, through which Stony Run flows. To the south is a hollow formed by a never failing "spring-branch," which flows into Stony Run a short distance above Belvedere Avenue. For many years past a vegetable garden, lately abandoned, occupied this hilltop and the land between it and the shaded grounds in which the school buildings are situated. About 1930 all the topsoil in this garden was removed to the depth of a foot, in order to obtain earth for making the "athletic" field, which lies adjacent to the garden on the west. I had this information from Mr. Leonard Curry, the head gardner at the school to whom I am much indebted for help in forwarding my project. He said that it took him two years to restore the fertility of the land with the aid of manure and fertilizers. Evidences of Indian occupation, principally arrowheads, are reported to have been numerous on the surface of the topsoil. The removal of the topsoil had the affect of bringing within reach of the plough artifacts which had hitherto lain below the "plough line," and which, but for this removal, would probably never have been found. Unfortu-

Baltimore County, deceased." Notice was thereby given that application was about to be made for the appointment of a guardian. On July 27, 1784, a notice was inserted in the *Maryland Journal* by Elijah Merryman and David M'Mechen, the youth's trustees, that the lands of Joseph Ensor, Jr. would be put up at auction on the 24th of September following. This property is described as a "very valuable estate," consisting of "1040 acres of land, situated from two to four miles from Baltimore Town, part of which lies on Jones's Falls, which is laid out and divided into Farms, from twenty to one hundred acres each, several of which have excellent mill seats." Among these farms were the sites of a large part of Hampden, Woodberry, and the site of Homewood, the seat of Johns Hopkins University. A descendant of Joseph Ensor, Sr., through the Oldham family told this author that young Joseph Ensor had delusions of grandeur and gave himself the airs of Lord of the Manor, to which, to be sure, he was more or less entitled.

²⁴ So far as we have been able to find out, the present name of Stony Run first appears in a deed from Bernard Gilpin to Thomas and Samuel Hollingsworth, dated February 20, 1805, in which are conveyed parts of "Mount Royal" and "Spicer's Stony Hills" (Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W.G. No. 88, f. 485). This deed calls for the new stone bridge across Stony Run on the Falls Turnpike Road.

²⁵ James Bouldin, surveyor, calls the stream both Union Run and Ensor's Run in a survey which was filed in the suit of Bay versus Scott, April 19, 1851 (Baltimore Court House, Package Plat No. 234). On Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore and its Environs* (1876) I, Plate S, p. 72, we find "Union Run or Stony Run."

nately, stratification was broken up by ploughing, so that this author's search may not be classified as a true archaeological undertaking, although on a higher plane than ordinary "surface hunting." I "discovered" the site in 1944, while taking a walk, expecting upon my first sight of it, to find evidence of Indian occupation there, as this site is quite typical of camp sites preferred by the Indians. I "hunted" the site through 1947, and spent not less than one hundred and thirty-six hours there. Credit is due to the principal of the school, Miss Van Bibber, for favoring the project, as well as for allowing the Maryland Historical Society to keep the artifacts which were found. When the project was already well under way, the author sent a report concerning it to a professional archaeologist, Dr. Douglas S. Byers, of the R. S. Peabody Foundation, and received from him a reply, dated, Andover, Mass., June 2, 1944, which reads, in part, as follows:

Your description of the site in the vegetable garden of Bryn Mawr School is interesting to me. It would be rather hard to say whether most of the evidences of the camp site were removed when the topsoil was taken off in 1930 without searching the field on which the topsoil was laid. That would give you the certain answer to the question. On the other hand, the chances are equally good that the site which you have encountered was like many of the quartz-bearing sites situated at the base of the loam on the top of the subsoil. The list of artifacts which you have given sounds remarkably like the artifacts which come from some of the older sites around here, or at least those which we feel to be older, and in these the habitation level seems to have been the surface of the subsoil before humus had accumulated to any great extent. The situation of the site back from the salt water and near a spring also seems parallel to the situation of similar sites in this district.

Mr. T. Latimer Ford, Jr., President of the Archaeological Society of Maryland, who has made it his business to learn to classify arrowheads according to the system now in vogue among American archaeologists, is definitely of the opinion that the major part of the lithic material found on the Bryn Mawr School site belongs to the Archaic Period of American history—i. e. from three to four thousand years ago.

No paeolithic projectile points were found on the site, that is, neither Clovis nor Folsom points. I found no grooved

axe or celt there. I found no banner stone, but I did find a neatly perforated, amorphous object (material? chlorite, or possibly a hard soapstone). Quartz arrowheads numbered 133, of which only three are triangular.²⁶ There are ninety-two objects—projectile points, cache-blades, “blunt arrowheads”—of rhyolite.²⁷ There is one flint arrowhead, and there are three projectile points of shale; four of quartzite.

In this collection there are sixty-seven pieces of clay pottery (no parts of soapstone vessels were found).²⁸ These pieces do not belong in the Archaic, pre-pottery “horizon,” and it is not unreasonable to suppose that they are intrusive and drifted down from above, perhaps when the topsoil was removed. I understand that they do not “go” with the picture presented by the preponderating types of arrowheads and the other types of lythic material found on this site.

Two rhyolite cache-blades were found, each in two separate pieces. In one case, the second piece was picked up a year after I found the first.

SUBURBANIZATION

Suburbanization may be said to have come to this valley with the advent of the city man of affairs and his countryseat. These men were, in general, able to live more elegantly than country people of quality, whom they put socially in the shade.²⁹ Not in this category, to be sure, belonged the builder of one of the first of these countryseats, Charles Carroll, Jr., the only son of a great landowner, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and a gentleman by profession. Homewood stands squarely on the divide between Stony Run and Sumwalt (formerly Edwards' Run), and a large part of the estate lay within the Stony Run valley.

²⁶ The triangular arrowhead is generally recognized as belonging to an archaeological “horizon” centuries later than the Archaic.

²⁷ According to C. A. Weslager, amateur archaeologist and late President of the Eastern States Archaeological Federation, several projectile points and a number of “chips,” found on the Bryn Mawr School site, are made of “Gettysburg rhyolite.”

²⁸ The fragments of pottery found on this site are in most cases very small. There are two rim sherds. One piece gives evidence of building in strips. None of the sixty-seven pieces is shell-tempered. Four have incised designs. Some of the others are net marked and some are paddle marked. Tempering, if discernible, is either of crushed quartz, mica or bits of feldspar.

²⁹ The author is reminded of an old definition of a country gentleman which was once current in the country: a man who makes his money in the city and spends it in the country.

From suburbanization, destructive to the landscape and to the essence and spirit of country life, this valley was spared, until within the memory of man, Hampden was the first mass intrusion. Roland Park followed. Through roads and cross-roads seem to have been few and inconvenient. Cold Spring Lane was not constructed until 1806;³⁰ Charles Street Avenue was not extended through this territory until 1854.

EARLY LAND GRANTS

In what year the first white settler arrived in this valley is uncertain. A small piece of land at and above the mouth of Stony Run was taken up in the year 1669 within the bounds of a survey called "Saint Mary's Bow," which was later (1720)

³⁰ The road later known as Cold Spring Lane was laid out by Act of the Maryland Assembly in the year 1806 (*Laws of Maryland, 1806*, Ch. LXXVIII). It reads as follows:

"An act to lay out a public road in Baltimore County from the angle of the Reisterstown Road near the seat of Edward Johnson, in the nearest and best direction to Isaac Green's Mill, upon Jones's Falls, thence with the said Green's present road to intersect the Falls Turn-pike Road, thence by the nearest and best route to the York Turnpike Road, at or near the residence of Rossiter Scott."

Cold Spring Lane took its name from the Cold Spring Hotel (and the Cold Spring), which were situated at the eastern terminus of the lane (J. C. Sidney and P. J. Browne's *Map of Baltimore City and County, 1850*).

A contemporary plat of the proposed lane is filed under "Package Plats" at the Baltimore Court House as Package Plat No. 130. This plat shows the residence of Rossiter Scott at the eastern end of the lane. When the road was laid out it was run to the southwards of this house to avoid an orchard (information given to the author by the late Edward V. Coonan, City Surveyor). This plat shows also "Stevenson's Road" crossing the proposed new road some little distance east of the Falls Road. The road so styled took its name from the Stevenson family, early dwellers on Morgan's Delight. This was one of the oldest roads of those parts, going from tidewater out to Poplar Hill, before there was a Falls Road.

It is hardly open to doubt that the mill of Isaac Green was that mill later known as the Rural Flour Mills, which stood at the intersection of Cold Spring Lane and Jones's Falls (Sidney and Browne's *Map of Baltimore City and County, 1850, loc. cit.*). On May 26, 1814, Jonathan Roberts, gent., deeded to William Evans and William R. Gwinn, merchants, parts of "Merryman's Pasture," "Ridgely's Whim," and "Come by Chance," known as the Rural Mills, which were conveyed by Isaac Green to the aforesaid Roberts, containing between fifteen and sixteen acres, and adjoining the land of Robert Goodloe Harper (Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 129, f. 419. See also W. G. No. 75, f. 386; W. G. No. 89, folios 129, 419). Mention is made in this deed of Jonathan Roberts' mill pool.

On July 2, 1802, Rossiter Scott purchased of Henry Messonier, through P. W. Wante, his attorney, Lots No. 35 and 36, part of the confiscated lands which had belonged to the Principio Company, containing $62\frac{1}{2}$ acres. (Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 73, f. 233). Mr. Scott resided on this land or farm and died in the year 1830 (see under "Scott's Mill"). On

repented, under the name of "Mount Royal."³¹ Someone may have settled thereon before 1700.

"Merryman's Lott," 210 acres, of which the greater part lies within the Stony Run watershed, was taken up by Charles Merryman and Nicholas Haile, as partners in common, June 24, 1688.³² It extends from Stony Run south of University Parkway across Guilford to the Old York Road, and includes the greater part of Homewood. A partnership of this sort in those days meant that the survivor acquired the moiety of the deceased partner in fee simple; but Merryman and Haile divided "Merryman's Lott" between them at a date which has not been ascertained.

"Morgan's Delight," 500 acres was surveyed for James Murray, or Morray (d. 1704), June 12, 1694, and doubtless owes its name to the father-in-law of the patentee, Captain Thomas Morgan (d. 1698).³³ This survey takes in the sources of Stony Run and practically all the land bounded by Lake Avenue, Belvedere Avenue, Roland Avenue and Charles Street, a large part of Poplar Hill west of Roland Avenue, and the "Kennels" property. Its southeastern boundary, which is also a boundary of "Job's Addition" and "Friend's Discovery," is situated at or near the intersection of Charles Street and Belvedere Avenue.

East of "Morgan's Delight" and bounded by it lies "Friend's Discovery," 1000 acres, surveyed for Job Evans,³⁴ of which the

June 30, 1847, his executors, Messrs. Townsend Scott, Thomas Scott and Rossiter Scott, Jr., sold this property to Mr. William Williams (Baltimore County Land Records, Liber A. W. B. No. 382, f. 521). It bounded on the east side of the York Road for 73 $\frac{1}{2}$ perches (nearly a quarter of a mile). Sidney and Browne's *Map of Baltimore City and County, 1850, loc. cit.*, shows the residence of "W. Williams" on the east side of the York Road about 600 feet north of Cold Spring Lane. On Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore City and County, 1877*, p. 52 (Ninth District), the bounds of the property of "W. Williams" are shown in detail. The southern boundary is Willow Avenue. The place was known as Willow Farm. Rossiter Avenue, which crosses the York Road between Notre Dame Lane and Cold Spring Lane, preserves the memory of Rossiter Scott and his association with this neighborhood.

³¹ "Some Baltimore City Place Names," by the author, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LIV, p. 16, note 5.

³² L. O. M., P. R. L., Liber 22, f. 438.

³³ L. O. M., P. R. L., Liber C. No. 3, f. 531.

³⁴ L. O. M., P. R. L., Liber B. No. 23, f. 313. The eastern part of "Friend's Discovery" was resurveyed, June 24, 1755, for Capt. William Govane, and called "Drumquhasle" after a town in Scotland. The name of a recent "development," "Drumcastle," is a variation of the original name. "Drumquhasle" lies on both sides of the York Road, but mostly on the eastern side thereof. Its north-

northern part of Homeland, above Belvedere Avenue, is a part. This land and "Morgan's Delight" were laid out on the same day.

Both "Morgan's Delight" and "Friend's Discovery" are described as situate "in the woods being part of a Ridge called little Britain Ridge," the name by which all the high land or ridge between Jones's Falls and the valley of Herring Run was then called and was known for many years later. It is the author's very certain opinion that the present York Road had its origin in one of the so-called "rolling roads," namely Britain Ridge Rolling Road, and that this road started at a landing on the Northwest Branch of Patapsco River.³⁵

western boundary is situated at Rodgers Forge, on the York Road. It is bounded partly on the east by the given line of "Friend's Discovery." In 1755 it was bounded on the west by Samuel Hopkins' part of that land. The south-western part of "Drumquhasle" lies in Govanstown. It was long the seat of the Govane-Howard family, from whose private burying ground, after it had been wrecked by vandals, descendants of the Howards recently had the remains of their ancestors removed to public cemeteries.

³⁵ Britain Ridge and the Genesis of the Old York Road. In addition to "Morgan's Delight" and "Friend's Discovery," the following Baltimore County surveys, recorded at the L. O. M., call for Little Britain Ridge, or for Britain Ridge: "Fellowship" surveyed for John Oulton, June 12, 1696, 200 acres (now part of the "development" known as "Wiltondale," the former Wiltondale stock-farm). ("Fellowship" adjoins, on the south, that part of "Friend's Discovery" called "Drumquhasle"); "Haile's Fellowship," surveyed for Nicholas Haile, October 19, 1695, 200 acres. The survey calls for the land of Job Evans called "Friend's Discovery" and for the land of John Oulton, meaning "Fellowship." "Young Man's Adventure," surveyed for William Cole, July 26, lies "near a ridge called Britain." "Gunner's Range," surveyed for Thomas Macnamara, May 16, 1706, lies "near Britain Ridge." "James Meadows," surveyed for Thady O Tracy, 23 March, 1702/3, is situated "in the woods on a ridge called Britton Ridge."

The beginning tree of "James's Meadows" stands "by a meadow in the Nmost line of a parcel of land called Fellowship." On 21 Nov., 1751, Walter Dallas et ux. conveyed to Samuel Gott, all that land called Gunners Range, "lying in Baltimore County on the north side of Patapsco River near Britain ridge, beginning at a bounded white oak standing near the head of a great glade on the south side of Setter Hill a bounded tree of James Meadows." Setter Hill is now known as Satyr Hill. The name has nothing to do with the Satyr family of Baltimore County. It is locally much older.

On 8 June, 1727, William Lyell conveyed to Richard Huett a tract of land called "Stone's Delight," "lying in little Brittain Ridge, beginning at a bounded white oak of a tract of land surveyed for Job Evans i. e., "Friend's Discovery" on the side of a run called the Western Run a branch of the Herring Run descending into Back River" (Baltimore County Land Records, Liber I. S. No. I, f. 9). This land was surveyed for Richard Taylor, April 25, 1714, and was sold by Taylor to Lyell in 1721. It is situated within less than half a mile of the York Road, on its eastern side, at Govanstown.

In August, 1714, the Baltimore County court appointed George Peckett "overseer of the highways from the White Marsh to Brittain Ridge" (Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Liber I. S. No. B, 1708-1715, f. 543-544). The White Marsh was situated on the White Marsh Run, which is still so called.

In the will of Benjamin Bowen, of Baltimore County, dated 4 Jan., 1739, the testator leaves to his son, Benjamin Cox, "part of that tract of land lying on Brittain Ridge called Samuells Hope." In the description which follows the Great Run is called for (Baltimore County Wills, Vol. 1, f. 330). If I am not mistaken, the greater part of the Sheppard-Pratt Asylum property comes out of "Samuells Hope."

On August 17, 1729, there was surveyed from William Wheeler a tract of land called "Hannah's Lott," containing 100 acres, "beginning at a bounded white oak near a branch which Descends into the Herring run and Between the said branch and Brittain ridge Roaling Roade" (L. O. M., Patented Certificate No. 2178, Baltimore County).

"Hannah's Lott" lies on both sides of the York Road at Govanstown. The beginning tree of this land stood between the site of the present York Road and that of Bellona Avenue, very close to Belvedere Avenue. The branch of Herring Run which is called for in this survey, is shown on a map of Govanstown published in Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore County*, 1877, p. 54. It is now covered over. It is the same stream that is called for in the certificate of survey of "Stone's Delight" (see above).

It should be noted that the records above quoted, relating to Britain Ridge Rolling Road, all antedate the founding of Baltimore Town. York was not laid out until 1741.

In 1731 the court of Baltimore County appointed Charles Gorsuch overseer of the roads "from the Herring run to Potapscow old church, from the sd. Church to Walkers Mill and up Brittain's Ridge rolling road to Benjamin Browns [Bowen?] quarter and from the sd. mill to the sd. Herring run" (Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Liber 1730-1732, August Court, 1731).

In 1737 the court of Baltimore County appointed Thomas Sheredine to lay out a road "from Hitchcock's mill into the roaling road that goes down by Benjamin Bowen's quarter as the old road used to go" (Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Liber H. W. S. No. I. A. 2, 1736-1738, f. 171, August Court, 1737). From this intersection Britain Ridge Rolling Road branched off to the northwards. This point of intersection is shown on Kearney's Sketch of the Military Topography of Baltimore and its Vicinity made by order of Brigadier General Winder, 1814. Point Road, or Lane, is shown, but not named, on Warner and Hanna's *Map of the City of Baltimore, 1801*, connecting the York Road with the then head of Market Street, now Broadway, near the present intersection of Biddle Street and Broadway. A small section of Point Lane is still in use under the name of Lamont Avenue. This ancient road, or lane, ran through the north eastern section of the present Greenmount cemetery, but was closed when additional land was added to that part of the cemetery. Important information is to be found in George W. McCreary's "Street Index" (*An Index to the Ordinances and Resolutions, 1797-Sept., 1900 affecting the opening of streets, alleys, lanes, etc., in the City of Baltimore* [Baltimore, 1900]), "Broadway"—was "Point Road" (p. 37). "Fells Point Road—Point Road" (p. 79). "'All of Point Lane was bed of Old York Road and public.' Letter to City Engineer, 1514" (p. 157). This important letter can not be found. I am indebted to Mr. C. Frank Poole, Records Manager and Officer, Room 408, City Hall, for making an exhaustive search for it.

The following records are of interest in this connection:

Notice in the *Maryland Journal* of August 12, 1785: "To be Rented—my now Dwelling House, Garden, Yard and Stable, etc., within half a mile of Baltimore Town, very healthy and pleasantly situated and joining the York and the Point road where they cross. Signed Henry Penney, miller, for Mr. Charles Ridgely Carnan." Mr. Carnan later took the name of Ridgely, and was the builder of Hampton. The land so advertised was part of "Huntington," as resurveyed for John Carnan, the father of Charles Ridgely Carnan, Sept. 29, 1757 (*Md. Hist. Mag.*, LIV, p. 354). In the year 1756 the Carnans had a Land Commission to determine the bounds of the tracts of land called "Huntington," "Wilkinson's Folly," "Edwards Lott" and "Edwards Enlargement." The first three named and part of the fourth were soon afterwards resurveyed and called

"Huntington." In the proceedings of this Land Commission mention is made of "the great Road leading from Baltimore Town to Brittain Ridge" (Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Land Commissions, Liber H. W. S. No. 4, f. 265 *et. seq.*, depositions of John Edwards and of Joseph Ensor). I take this to mean that the southern section of the present York Road below Twenty First Street (Huntington Avenue) had already been laid out.

The following records may also be of interest:

Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser, April 10, 1813: "Country seat for sale—residence of the late Capt. WM. Robinson, about one mile from the city of Baltimore on the Road leading from Fells Point near the York Turnpike road, in the neighborhood of Springfield and the seat of Captain Tennant—twelve acres improved by a large and fashionable brick dwelling house. (Springfield, the residence of Major Thomas Yates, shown on Warner and Hanna, 1801, was situated a little east of the Harford Road, near the site of North Avenue, and north east of Point Lane.) Tennant's house stood N. W. of Springfield, between it and the Harford Road (Kearney, *op. cit.*)."

The following records refer, in my opinion, to Point Lane:

Federal Gazette, Jan. 27, 1797: John Stover offers for sale a tanyard on the Old York Road leading from Baltimore to York Town and on the Mile Run.

Ibid., Jan 1, 1798: Jacob Shriver offers for sale 5 acres of land on the Old York Road near the Mile Run. There is a spring of excellent water on the property. The Mile Run, later known as Jenkins' Run, crosses the North West corner of Greenmount cemetery, underground. Its sources are in Waverly. The Great Run is the old name of the Towson Run.

In the year 1716 the Baltimore County court appointed Jonathan Tipton overseer "of the forrest road leading from the Garrison Ridge by the widow Stephenson on to the White Marsh and all inhabitants on the Garrison Ridge [above the head of Jones's Falls] and Little Brittain are to assist in clearing and marking the same" (Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Liber G. M. No. 2, 1715-1718, f. 10).

And now for Britain Ridge Rolling Road as forerunner of the York Road:

In 1728 the Baltimore County Court appointed John Ensor overseer of the roads "from the Herring Run at the head of Back River to Jones's falls from the sd falls to the church and from Britain Ridge Rolling house to the extent of that hundred" (Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Liber I. W. S. No. 6, 1728-1730, August Court, 1728).

At that time, in Maryland, a "rolling house" was a tobacco warehouse situated on tidewater, to which hogsheads of tobacco were rolled along "rolling roads," to await shipment abroad.

In 1729 the Baltimore County court appointed Lloyd Harris "overseer of the roads from the herring run at the head of Back River to Jones Falls, and from Jones Falls to the church and Brittain Ridge rowling road to the extent of that hundred in the room of John Ensor" (Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Liber I. W. S. No. 6, 1728-1730, November Court, 1729).

Mr. Harris was an Englishman, who married the widow of Nicholas Rogers (d. 1720), and lived on a creek of the North West Branch of Patapsco River formerly called Collett's Creek, to which he gave the name of Harris's Creek.

On 14 Sept., 1720, Thomas Hooker conveyed to Benjamin Bowen "all that tract of land called Samuells's Hope, beginning at a bounded white oak standing by a spring called Surveyors Spring, it being a bounded tree of John Oulton and Nicholas Haile, i. e., of "Fellowship" and of "Hailes Fellowship," and running along with a line of Job Evans, "Friend's Discovery," and James Murrays, "Morgan's Delight," West 324 perches (a little over a mile) to a bounded hickory, then north 250 perches to a red oak, then east 324 perches to a bounded red oak, then to the beginning, "containing 500 acres (Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber T. R. No. D. S., f. 277).

This, unquestionably, was the land on which Benjamin Bowen had his "quarter," namely, a plantation that was not his dwelling place. He lived, I believe, in Patapsco Neck.

"Haile's Fellowship" is described in part as follows: "in ye woods on a

"Vauxhall" (sometimes called "Fox Hall"), 200 acres, surveyed for Stephen Benson, October 12, 1694,³⁶ includes nearly all the land bound by Charles Street, Belvedere Avenue, Roland Avenue and Wyndhurst Avenue, and considerable land west of Roland Avenue which lies outside the Stony Run watershed.

"Job's Addition," 225 acres, was laid out for Job Evans, the patentee of "Friend's Discovery," August 24, 1695,³⁷ and by him assigned to James Butler, to whom a patent was issued. Its western boundary coincides very nearly with Charles Street; its northern boundary is (approximately) Belvedere Avenue. It is separated from the York Road by several tracts of land of later date, including "Hannah's Lott," "Bryan's Meadows," "Addition to Bryan's Meadows," "Wheeler's Lott" and a small part of "Ridgely's Whim." "Job's Addition" takes in the central part of the Homeland estate of nearly four hundred acres, the Notre Dame College property and the greater part of "Evergreen-on-the Avenue."

"Merryman's Addition," surveyed for Charles Merryman, July 7, 1694, 220 acres, is an irregular tract of land, lying east of Stony Run, both above and below (but mostly above) University Parkway.³⁸

"Merryman's Beginning," 246 acres, surveyed for Charles

Ridge called Little Britain, beginning at a bounded white oak standing by a spring called the Surveyors Spring in a line of Job Evans his land called Friends Discovery and running north east 295 perches to a bounded oak, east 160 perches to a parcel of land of John Oultons," etc.

It is the opinion of this author that Britain Ridge Rolling House stood on the point of the North West Branch of Patapsco River now and for over two hundred years known as Fell's Point, but at that time probably called Long Island Point, the name under which it was taken up. The author further believes that an ancient road called the Point Lane, or the Point Road (they seem to be the same), which connected Fell's Point with the York Road, was substantially the same road as Britain Ridge Rolling Road. Point Lane crossed the present York Road near Twenty Fifth Street, and continued on in a north westerly direction to Merryman's Lane. That section of it which lay west of the York Road become known as Red Lane (*Md. Hist. Mag.*, LIV, pp. 362, 363). There were formerly several tanyards on it. This stream, now entirely buried underground, still flows copiously, as the author observed by looking down into a sewer through a grating in the north wall of the cemetery during a prolonged drought. There was no odor to indicate that the flow was considerably augmented by sewage. To Judge by Warner and Hanna (*op. cit.*), Point Lane crossed the Mile Run, or Jenkins' Run, in Greenmount Cemetery, a little less than three hundred yards east of Greenmount Avenue (the York Road), and very near to North Avenue.

³⁶ L. O. M., P. R. L., Liber C No. 3, f. 66.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 415.

³⁸ L. O. M., P. R. L., Liber B. B. No. 3, f. 419.

Merryman, February 5, 1704,³⁹ lies mostly within the area bounded by Charles Street, University Parkway, Wyndhurst Road and Roland Avenue. It embraces the greater part of Blythewood (*q. v.*) and "Attica" (*q. v.*). It was wholly included in Captain Charles Ridgely's resurvey, "Ridgely's Whim," which, as before stated, was surveyed February 4, 1744 (for reference see note 19).

"Haile's Addition," 100 acres, laid out for Nicholas Haile, January 10, 1701,⁴⁰ lies on both sides of Stony Run, in the lower part of Wyman Park, and is bounded southerly by "Mount Royal."

"Mount Pleasant," 150 acres, was taken up by Nicholas Haile, February 24, 1704. Mention has already been made of the fact that the fourth bounded tree of this land stood, according to the survey, "in a low piece of ground by the Mill Run."⁴¹ The site of this boundary is near, if not under, the bridge which carries University Parkway over Stony Run.⁴² The greater part of "Mount Pleasant" lies west of Stony Run, and nearly all of it lies below University Parkway. It includes parts of Roland Park, Wyman Park and Hampden, and gave its name to the country estate of Henry Mankin (*q. v.*).

Such is our list of the earliest surveys in the Stony Run watershed. For years after the lands above mentioned were taken up a great deal of land in this watershed remained "vacant" and without owners.⁴³ The reason for this fact, start-

³⁹ L. O. M., P. R. L., Liber C. D., f. 173.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 176.

⁴¹ L. O. M., P. R. L., Liber D. D. No. 5, f. 201.

⁴² A deed from Eleanor Merryman and others, 1849, to Henry Mankin, a Baltimore merchant, conveying part of "Merryman's Addition" and part of "Mount Pleasant," calls for the last (or fourth) boundary of "Mount Pleasant," standing by the public road (Merryman's Lane, now University Parkway), on the western side of Ensor's or Union Run (Stony Run). Also called for was the rock marked "W E 1739," the same rock as that which is mentioned in an inquisition held 24 March, 1739, under a writ of *ad quod damnum* granted to William Fell and John Ensor (see later under "Ensor's and Fell's Mill"). The land so conveyed is bounded southerly by "Scott's Mill," the mill seat on Stony Run, on which Rossiter Scott erected a grist mill, ca. 1794 (*Baltimore County Land Records*, Liber A. W. B. No. 423, f. 402).

⁴³ Among the later surveys, which are situated wholly or partly in this valley, should be mentioned "Sheredine's Discovery," "Hannah's Lott," "Wheeler's Lott," "Bryan's Meadows," "Bryan's Meadows Enlarged," "Bryan's Chance," "Addition to Mount Pleasant," "Gift," "Addition to Vauxhall," "Conveniency," "Adjunction," "Harrow Tooth," "Garritson's Meadows," "Cox's Paradise" and a second "Mount Pleasant." "Gift," surveyed for Thomas Deye Cockey, Dec. 16, 1794, contained $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres. It was resurveyed for him, May 2, 1805, and

ling in view of the present value of the land, is pretty clear in most cases: it was not good farming land. The few small parcels, or wedges, of land lying vacant were doubtless discovered in making resurveys.

(To be continued)

found to contain $20\frac{1}{2}$ acres. (L. O. M., Patented Certificates No.'s 1894, 1895, Baltimore County). This land is an enclave between "Vauxhall" and "Ridgely's Whim," lying both south and west of "Vauxhall." If Wyndhurst Road, the former Cedar Lane, does not lie on this tract of land, it comes pretty close to it. "Mount Pleasant," $14\frac{3}{4}$ acres, is an enclave between "Job's Addition" and "Ridgely's Whim." It lies along the line of Charles street (Avenue), between Wyndhurst Avenue and Cold Spring Lane, and was surveyed for Christopher Walker, March 5, 1798. (L. O. M., Patented Certificate No. 3390, Baltimore County.) A large amount of vacant land was taken up with "Ridgely's Whim." The greater part of it lies outside, or west, of the Stony Run valley, but the part which lies within that watershed is considerable.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WRITINGS OF SENATOR ARTHUR PUE GORMAN

By JOHN R. LAMBERT, JR.

(Continued from June)

Wednesday 20th Jan 1904

First Vote yesterday and Second today at Annapolis. The B Sun of Today has the most offensive articles both in Local and Editorial Denouncing Rasin Carter and Myself. A Delegation of County Editors called on me in Smith's interest. I told him Smith having given up the Caucus Monday placed the situation in the greatest Jeopardy. They must correct it. Carter talked and expressed great concern as to Raynors Election. The Vote today: Rainor gained 3 votes To 38 Smith 29 Carter; gained 2 Howd Co. Tonight I Entertained my friend W W Fuller of N York. Bob Crain agreed to go to Annapolis.

Thursday Jan 21st 1904

This was quite a busy day. The result at Annapolis was about the same as Yesterday. Smiths people abusing me roundly. Called J W Miles here from Annapolis and found him more determined than Ever that his County would not Vote for Smith but they would go to Raynor first. He said Gov Jackson had told him he would give his County to Miles. But I informed Miles that he couldnot win. Rasin talked over the Phone was greatly demoralized. And so the Matter goes, and all to the Advantage of Raynor because Smith Broke up the Caucus just as I told him before it ocured.

Friday 22 Jan 1904

At 9:15 Bernard Carter and C H Carter came and then Robert Crane came—Carter splendid as he is said we must have Smith and Miles Talbott. Spencer Jones, T Robinson and others here tomorrow night. Then we wanted to propose all should vote in Caucus for Smith make an honest effort to Nominate him and if we couldnot, Then all go for him Carter or any one Else who could unite all our forces—That it was an outrage to permit Raynor to succeed. We arranged for it meeting tomorrow Saturday Night at Shoerum [Shoreham Hotel].

The Caucus Committee—Culverson Cockrell and Self being present agreed to a resolution of Inquiry and one for investigation as to aid given by government Revolution in Panama. Called Caucus for tomorrow Morning Saturday 23d at—11. Genl Johnson Gill wrote me a letter saying Raynor must be Elected or the party was destroyed. Senate passed my resolutions for information as to use of Military forces in Columbia. Frank Smith and Senator Penington are Expected tonight from Annapolis.

Saturday Jan 23d 1904

The U S Senate Caucus met at 11. A M. After a long discussion we agreed to two resolutions Namd in Memoranda of Yesterday and appoint Committee of 5 to take any other action. At 5 P M Rasin came to my home then B & Charles Carter Called. We all went to the Shoerum Hotel Room 100. Met Gov Smiths partner Walis L. Wilkinson Senator Jones & Robinson Fred Talbott Crothers B Schley. B Carter stated he had called the Meeting and wanted to come to some unified action, as he did not want the place but did want to defeat Raynor; he suggested that all the votes we could command should first be given to Smith and then all should go to Carter. The count was made not a fair one because the Smith People were bent on Smith or nothing. Schly Stating in No Event Could the Washington Co votes be given to Carter; so said George of Queen Anne. And so they said of Anne Arundle. The Meeting adjourned without any Special result and it looks like Raynor or some new man.

Sunday 24th Jan 1904

Carter called me up, and said He had seen Smith and informed him he had withdrawn from the talk of Last Night, and he Carter would demand and open Vote. So this matter Ends With no result. Rasin Vandiver and the Speaker Everhart spent the greater part of the day arranging the House Committees. We talked over the Situation and all agreed the open vote was defeat of Smith. During the Evening Senator Applegarth called He is voting for Jackson. Wants to vote for Raynor but is against Smith. and says Jacksons County will not go to Smith. Would go to Carter in preference. Robt Crane called and is of same opinion—So this case will go on.

Monday Jan 25 Nothing Special Carter Phoned me is now hopefull. Answered Williams Letter about Co operation

Tuesday Jan 26th 1904

Dem Caucus Committee, Newlands, Martin, Bacon, and Self Met today to consider Bacons—Hales—and Newlands Resolution to Make Some provision for opening negotiations and adjusting Differences with Columbia. I drafted a Substitute blending the two resolutions and we tentavily agreed to it to be submitted to a future caucus with the hope of uniting all the Democrats on it. Senator Stone made a powerful speech against the President for vilating the Treaty of 46 and all international law—in the Panama Matter, but he is inclined to vote for the Treaty. Same Condition Exists at Annapolis caucus call for tonight. Carter protested against a Secret ballott. Judge Geo. Vanhillen of Harford Co and a Mr. Rouse called at 8:30. Dr. Shaw of Carroll Called; says he is broke merits a place with Dem Nat Committee.

Tuesday Jan 26, 1904

This resolution was drafted by a Committee of Democratic Senators consisting of Cockrell of Mo, Culberson of Texas, Carmack of Tenn and A.P. Gorman; acted on and adopted by caucus Saturday Jan 23d 1904

Offered in Senate Jan 26th 1904 by Senator Stone of Mo.

RESOLVED,

That the Committee on Foreign Relations is hereby instructed to investigate and ascertain whether Buneau Varilla, and other persons residing in the United States and subject to our laws, did aid or promote an insurrection in Panama against the Republic of Colombia, and did give assurance to citizens of Panama that they should have the aid and assistance of our Navy in behalf of such insurrection, and whether any official of any Department of the Government did disclose or make known to said Buneau Varilla, or to any other person, the action which the Government of the United States designed or proposed to take in the event of an insurrection. Said Committee shall have authority to send for persons and papers, compel attendance of witnesses and shall make report at earliest practicable date.²²

Wednesday, Jan 27th 1904

Hon. Wayne McVey called at 930 A M To talk over resolution in regard to Columbia Suggesting that any allusion to using good offices with Panama would be rejected by Columbia &c. He is

²² The resolution is a typewritten insert in the ms.

counsel for Genl Reis. Senators Newlands, Patterson, Bacon and I Met in Conference room to discuss the Resolution. It is now apparent that we cannot unite 31 Senators to demand the passage of the resolution or stop the ratification. Simmons of N Carolina Made a Speech for the Treaty and it created a great deal of feeling on our side, Delighted the Republicans. Blackburn and others insists on putting on the party whip. I have not yet decided that question. Senator Davis called to discuss party matters, & Wilkinson came from Annapolis to discuss senatorial case. He wanted to change arrangement entered into with Carter. I told him they must fix number of ballotts for Smith and then take up Carter in good faith and with Secret ballott. He Said Rasin could deliver 9 or 10 Votes in caucus tonight.

Thursday 26th Jan 1904

Had a Short-Conference with Mr. Lamb of Indiana on Situation in his State, and talked over the pure food bill to which he is opposed. Balto Sun Addressed an Editorial to me about Senatorship & charging me with preventing caucus action. I replied to it and gave it to Mr. Miller their Correspondent. Made a short Speech on Resolution of Inquiry, in regard to Panama. Senator Aldrich of R. I. Intimated that Negotiations were pending, looking to Satisfy Columbia. I Embraced the opportunity to commend it and Said it would save our interests in South America.—Delegation from Baltimore on Merchants banquet, and Dan Offit, Genl Hamill and others from Oakland, Md came to urge Section of Garrett Co for sight [site] of Military Camp. H Wells Rush called to discuss the Situation at Annapolis. He said they Joined Smiths forces to break up caucuses and were delighted as they supposed they were defeated that night, but Since then They take new Life and now He says Rasin is out of it and has told Smith he cannot give him any votes from Balto City. Robinson Miles Fred Tablott and Arthur came tonight from Annapolis. Miles is so fearful that Smith can win he is more than disposed to vote for Raynor. Robinson says he will not now vote for Smith at any time—and will vote for open vote in caucus—and in fact wants to vote for Raynor, I protested and hope they will not, but the Situation is critticle and may result in Raynor Election. The Smith People are very abusive of me and have openly stated I could nominate him if I desired. His own Blunder in breaking up caucus destroyed his only Chance and then he holds me responsiable. So, it goes with a weak man.

Friday 29th 1904

A great Snow Storm here all night and today. Nothing Special but the passage of Resolution calling on President for all the correspondence in regard to Panama. Amended in Presidents discussion. Senator Patterson of Colorado Attended the banquet at Rennerts Baltimore. Saw Mr. Foster & another of Smiths Sons in Law and said Foster was denouncing me for Smiths failure—that he was very bitter. Senator Perkins of Balto City came from Annapolis and had some suggestions how we could Nominate Carter by getting 22 of Smiths votes. Nothing important in his suggestions, but he is most anxious to defeat Raynor. Have Called a caucus for Democratic Senators tomorrow.

Saturday 30th Jan 1904

Hobbs was in from my place. ["Fair View," near Laurel, Md.] Bernard Carter and Charles C—came at 9:30. We agreed that we should go into Caucus on Tuesday and agree to ballot or Vote in open Caucus; if in open vote all of Carters friends shall support him, if we should then or afterward go into secret ballot, Carter says we cannot stand unless B City Delegates Vote openly for him, That he is content to have Smith Elected if it can be done notwithstanding Smiths bad conduct to Him and Me. The Democratic Caucus Met at 11:30, 20 being present. We discussed for hours the resolution to demand an adjustment be made with Columbia and finally passed to Vote against the Treaty. Clark of Ark Said he would not Submit. We knew that Senator McEndy would not and the two Fla Senators would not commit themselves, and there remained Foster of La & Mony of Miss who were not present. So we could not get 31, and after a long talk we adjourned, I stating that it was useless to continue a Chinese War. Sen Blackburn was selected to preside in case of my absence for a few days. So all of our Efforts seem to have Ended in Smash. C C Crothers called and we discussed the Senatorship—and agreed that Smith had blundered and acted badly in regards to the matter that there was just a possibility of his nomination by 47 votes, if not then Carter by about 49—with a ballott. I got to the Grid Iron Dinner tonight—

Sunday 31st Jan—1904

C. H. Carter came while I was at Breakfast, and said they could arrange with Rasin to break the Delegation. I told him to see Rasin. During the morning Rasin came; he told me that Raynors

people had plenty of money that Ten thousand was offered to Anne Arundel and Q Anne, and he thought they would go. But finally Said we could carry 8 Votes to Smith and for a caucus if it was by ballott. So it was agreed to try it and if it failed then to Carter. S C Jones in for a short time and it was so arranged with him but he thought Raynor would win, That Robinson and Hill were gone and so would go Joshua Miles. Jackson wrote me a letter saying it could not be Carter but he or Smith must be the man. I told him he could not get it. The Grid Iron Dinner was *great*.

Monday Feb. 1st 1904

Mr. Stephen F. Moriarty of N York who says he represents Genl Ries of Columbia came with suggestions to settle with Columbia and that Arms and ammunition for 25 thousand men have been furnished and that the Vatican had restrained the War feeling with a hope of Settlement. Vandiver came he is used up and admitted Smith was defeated if we did not Save him. I told him to call another caucus if by open vote then go on with it until they could get a ballot. If Smith could hold his 32—9 of Carter's would go to him and Rasin said he could get him 7—making 48. This was the outside mark; if Smith failed then we must make Carter or Spencer Jones—Fred Talbott agreed. Sent Photograph to Mrs. Fred Talbott & Freds Mother at his request today.

Tuesday 2d Feb 1904 ²³

That the volume of Trade East and West is draining on Grain it is never North and South or the Miss Valley and to the Orient. That our Coll interests are to have a great compeditor in Exportation [Illegible] being developed by English and German [Illegible]

. . . Looks for a Splendid democratic victory—is friendly but I think looks to Cleveland. Today it is announced that a treaty will be made with Columbia to Satisfy her in regard to Panama. The democrats by their refusal to favor the proposition have lost a great chance and this victory is with the Republicans. W C Whitney died today. He and I were fast friends, held Each other in high Esteem. He could have had the nomination for President in 1892. But he gave it to Grover Cleveland After agreeing with Senator Ransom Brice and I to go with us against Cleveland. I wrote this memo on his death.²⁴

²³ There appears to be a missing page in the manuscript here; moreover many of the words in this entry are virtually illegible.

²⁴ The memo is type written.

Feb 2d 1904

Death of W C Whitney to N York Herald

Mr. Gorman said:

The death of Mr. William C. Whitney is a great shock to me, as it will be to the entire country. It was my good fortune to know him well. Our acquaintance began in 1883, since which time I enjoyed as close and warm personal friendship as is possible to exist between men.

Mr. Whitney was a most remarkable man—warm-hearted, generous, and with the faculty of attaching friends to him such as is possessed by few men. He was endowed with rare ability, and, in dealing with public affairs, had a breadth of vision, which made him the equal of any of his compeers, no matter how august. His death is a great loss to his friends, his party and his country.

Wednesday 3d Feb 1904

Attended the Senate today, Having been absent two days on acct of personal matters. Made a short speech on Appropriation for St. Louis Exposition Senator Lodge, having refused to the Deficit in Treasy which would prevent appropriations for—Rivers & Harbors &c. I arraigned the republicans for their Extravagance in Army Navy and their refusal to remodel the Revenue Laws &c; it was well recd by a full Senate and Spooner made answer so the Debate was political. The Caucus was called at Annapolis tonight on Senator [?] I think it a close vote. Senator Cullom says they will not negotiate with Columbia. We Democrats are hopelessly divided.

Feb 4th 1904

Isador Raynor was nomenate last night in a Democratic Caucus by an open vote. Rasin's Baltimore City vote was cast solidly against us notwithstanding his positive promis on Sunday—I am informd that the Raynor people mde an arrangemt with him which among other things the Sun paper agreed to and has for some days desisted from attacking him yet; his deliberate abandonment of his friends can not be accounted for—only on that hyposithus. Jackson and Miles people went to Raynor—while Smiths conduct and that of his frnds was deplorable both in mangemt and in their talk showing him as a selfish man with no consideration for his friends; yet we did the best we could for him.

Senator Lodge replied to my speech of yesterday in the Senate today and I replied to him for $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour My friends thought I did well and Senator Smith said it was the best I have made since

my return to the Senate—Miller of the Balto Sun Called to volunteer any service and to publish any thing I wanted at any time. I thanked him. Senator Foraker of Oh replied to my speech and read X Sec Fosters letter. Baily of Texas answered him in a great Democratic Speech of powr.

Friday Feb 5, 1904

This was rather a quiet day. Nothing special in the Senate save Senator Pattersons speech denouncing Cleveland and the insistence of quite a number of Democratic Senators that some further action should be taken against the Panama Canal Treaty. But I told them Senators Clarks and Malloys Speeches together with the attitude of other Democrats made it impollitic in my Judgement to pursue the Matter further. So in Exctve Session I said the Confidential Docmts Sent in by the President Should not be psnted. The Post Office Committee refused to consider the resolutions to Investigate the Dept. posponing it for the Next Meeting. The Election of Raynor creates a great deal of talk—and Rep & Mugwamp papers [Illegible] a great set back for me. I have not yet congratulated him. Rasin is given credit for it

Saturday 6th Feb 1904

This A M I left my card at the Arlington for Senator Hanna who is desperatly Ill. Talked with Senator Hale about him who had just called. Met Mrs. Danl Manning and Mrs. Montgomery who represent the Womans Dept of the St. Louis Exposition. Gov Francis was there and wanted me to stay at his house if I went to St. Louis; he talked about the Presidency and said he had advised Cleveland not to run that Don Dickerson had so advised Cleveland by letter &c. and that he Francis was not in the race. Henry G Davis gave me an acct of his talk with Mr. Cassatt and others of the Pa R R on Wednesdy. Says they are all friendly and against Rosevelt &c. Spent day at my Committee Rom getting up personal Matters and some work on District and Labor Committees

Sunday 7th Feb 1904

Arthur spent the Day with me and give me a full account of the occurance at Annapolis. He Says he told Gov. Smith of the arragnt 1st. Caucus. Vote for ballot and all our frnds to vote for him; if they failed to nomenate that night, Then next night All to go to Carter. If defeated on ballot then to vote as they had in open house. Rasin saw Smith and Arthur and asured up to the Moment of

going in to Caucus 7 of his men would vote with him. When the vote was taken and they all voted with Raynor he went to Rasin who was in the Speakers Room and denoced him as a delibert decevre. You have cheated us and we will pay you up. The Speaker ordered R from his room and told him Nevrr to Come there again while he was speaker. J W Miles behavd badly and so did Jackson preferg Raynor to Smith. Senator Robinson and Applegarth both voted for Raynor. And so he was nomnted on the first Ballot. He immediately sought Rasin at Carvel H[all] and Embraced him and told him it was the greatest acheevment of his life. Rasin said Yes it was that he had deceivd them all up to the last Moment too late for them to recover. Rasin Told me in December that Mahon and Rush told him they could make Raynor pay him back all the Mony he had paid the State and Expences about \$20,000.00 Rush told me when he came here and saw me in the Pesidents Room That Rasin Had promised not to interfear with the City Delegation and that Raynor had Seen Walter Able and arranged to stop all further attacks on Rasin—and So the Bargain was made. Corruption Won.

Monday Feb. 8th 1904

Senator Mc Comas called on his way to Baltimore in regard to the Disastrous fire in that City.²⁵ I had written a note to Mayor Mc Lean and Sent it by Arthur. We agreed at present Nothing could be done. When I reached the Capitol at 11:30 The Sec of War Called me on Phone and said the Mayor of Baltimore wanted him to Send troops and Enginer officers. I advised him Send the Engerns and I would Suggest the Maryland Legislature to pass resolution requesting troops if they wanted them and asked him to have them in readiness as the Legislature would meet tonight. He promsd to do so Spencer Jones came in and immediately went to Annapolis to have the resolution passed. It is the greatest Calamity Ever visited Baltimore. During the day Reps Mudd and Paree Called to discuss the Situation and see what could be done. At 8 P M Arthurs Wife informd me of her return from Baltimor and that Mr. Mills had savd Arthurs Papers Books and desk—before the fire reached the Bank of Balto.

Tuesday 9th Feb 1904

Nothing Special occurd tody was at the Senate and in Ex Session Considered the Panama Canal Treaty. Arthur came here durng

²⁵ This refers to the great fire that destroyed the downtown area of Baltimore.

the Evng and gave an accout of the destruction in Baltimore and the action of the Legislature.

Wednesday Feb 10th

Was at the Senate all day. Raynors credentials came I handed them to McComas to present—which he did. Recd a letter from Gov Warfield asking what action was taken by Congress in the Chicago fire. I answered it—giving the information. After a Speech in open session resumd consideration of the Canal treaty. I made a motion to report the Debate in Confidence. Senator Danels made the most powerful speech yet Made against it. Replied to by Spooner and Daniel replied to him it was the finest debate by all odds on the question and one of the best I have listened to in a long time; the Republicans voted down my motion to report speeches. My sister Kate came to see us today.

Wednesday 10th Feb 1905 ²⁶

Had a teriable Head ach and in Bed all day. During the day an agreement was reached to vote on Treaty not Later than Feb. 23rd.

Thursday 11th Feb 1904

Felt better and was at the Senate all day, but nothing of importance occurd. H G Davis called at night to talk over the Situation.

Friday 12 Feb—

Was at Senate Nothing of importance—occurd.

Saturday 13th—Met Geo Harvey of N York at Willians He told me of his talks with the President who thought I should not have antagonised him as I have. Harvy says Th Speers of N York will stand by Rosevelt Financially as they have ambition. Senator Perkin was over today he is hot against Rasin. Sec Navy in N York last night answd my speech on Excessive Navy

Sunday 14th Feb 1904

This has been a disagreeabl day out-doors Snowy and damp; so I here remad in all day, Arthur and I spending all the time together—talking over all sorts of affairs. Yesterday Albert Gorman was taken quite sick at the school near Alexandria and was brought to this city; he is better today. I have been looking over some old speeches

²⁷ From this point on Gorman tends to confuse the dates of his entries.

of mine and gathering Some data for a talk on Economy in Public Expendits of the Army & Navy as the Sec of the Navy Mr. Moody has critised my speech in the Senate I will try to answer him.

Monday 15th Feb 1904

The Senate met and immediately went into Ex Session as we were lookng for Senator [Mark] Hanna death at Evry Moment. We agreed to vote on Treaty (Panama) on 23d before adjournmt. Cullom and I making the arrangemt. Senate Resumd legislative Session and Continued on Callender until we adjourned Defeating by a tie vote Bill to pay Quen Lil of Honolu 150 thousand.²⁷ Spencer Jones called to talk over Annapolis Matters—Senator Hanna died about 6:30 this P. M. Robt Larner came to get from me an expression in regard to him which I gave to papers I regarded Mr H as one of the most remarkable men—a stalwart party man but a manly generous fellow a great favorite with all who knew him well.

Tuesday 16th Feb 1904

The death of Senator Hanna was announced in Senate today and a Committee of 25 of which I am one was named to Escort his remains. The Committee met in Room of the Appropriation Committee and made all arrangements; general and generous Sorrow was felt by all. The only unusual suggestion made and adopted was to permit a committee of 6 of the Grid Iron Club to come on floor of the Senate and a quartet of the same club to furnish music. The last time I talked with Hanna was on the 30th Jan at the Grid Iron dinner. He made a short speech and after it I walked over to him and told him as sick as he was I feared he was imprudent to come out. He said it will do me good to be with the boys. You and I must never forsake them. They are your and my friends. We will stand by them as long as we live. It was his last public appearance.

Wednesday 17th Feb 1904

This was the day of Funeral of Senator Hanna in the Senate Chamber. The Committee met in the Marble Room and then met in body at the East Door of the Senate. Senator Spooner of Wis, and I walked together; the ceremony in the Senate was impressive and unusual. The Prayer by the blind chaplain of the House was commented on as superb. Dr. Hale the chaplain of the

²⁷ Queen Liliuokalani, the last reigning ruler of Hawaii.

Senate delivered a remarkable address. His description of the people who are prone to attribute bad motives to public men was a pointed and proper rebuke to scandle mongers. At 5 the Committee of both Houses Escorted the remains to the depot 6th & B St. Senators Spooner Cockrell Platt of Conn and I rode together and talked of the Deceased. The Committee start for Cleveland at 6 P.M. tomorrow. I cannot go. During the Day Mr. Ford and I C Rose of Baltimore came to consult Mc Comas and I to get U Sta to purchase a square of land opposite Post Office in Baltimore. We informd them it would be allmost impossible to do so.

Thursday 18th Feb 1904

Senate was in session and Senator Spooner made his speech.

Friday 19th

Senate adjourd over this day as the Funeral took place in Cleveland. I had quite an attack of grip during the night; it seamed to attack the left side of the Head and made it impossiable to lay on that side a most peculiar and distressing fealing.

Saturday 20th Feb

A most disagreeable day Rain Sleet & Snow. In the house all day Dr. Brown called and prescribed. Says it is a clear case of grip with some weakness of the heart action; it conts all day. At Evng Arthur Lee Marriott and their wives came to spend Sunday.

Sunday 21st F. 1904

Still quite unwell Dr. Brown thinks He caught it under control but I think it one of the worst attacks I have had. Arthur and Leigh Marriott spent the day with me. R M Lerner came in during the Evng to chat. It was a bad disagreeable day and the night was a bad one for me.

Monday 22d Feb—

I could not go to the Senate not feeling well. Dr. Brown came thought I would improve. Could not find any Evidence of an Absess in for-head. See Dr. Wilmer but he was not in office today.

Tuesday Feb 22d 1904

Remand at home and attended to Personal Affairs, talked with Speaker Everhart at Annapolis to get the vote and situation—no

chage—Saw Henry G. Davis; he informed me that the President Repudiated the Foraker Bill on Interstate Commerce—and that He and Col Tom Dow had agreed to purchase the Old Brown home, Good Fellowship in Howard County and to give it to Howard Brown, son of Dorch on condition it should go to a Brown. Arthur is given the drawing of the papers—James J Hill called at 2:20 spend an hour or more. He is hot against the President; says—Business is bound to recede—and the English tax proposed by Chamberlain will succeed and Injure us. That 30 thousand people from U.S. have this year gone to Manatoba and Canada is bound to hurt us.

Tuesday Feb 23d 1904

Fealng Badly But went to the Senate so as to vote on Panama Canal Treaty; there were 17 Democrats against it and 16 for it so it was rattified, and leaves a blot on our fair dealing with Columbia, and all Central America will Mistrust us. Senator Baily talked with me and advised me to decline to be considerd in Presidential contest. He thinks the party Demoralisd and contest now Ended—as Rosevelt can and probably has made peace with [J.P.] Morgan & others—

Wednesday 24 and Thursday 25

I have been in the House all day as I have a very Sever attack of grip. Governor Warfield has made his appointments without regard to party. He seams to have had only on desir and that is to disregard [Illegible] ignore all the regular organisation and so has done all he can to bring defeat to us. His surrender to the Sun Paper and the Mugwumps is thourough and compleat. It looks as if Egotism and Malace combined was all his.

Monday Feb 29 th

There has been nothing of importance to note as I have been quite unwell since the 24th with an accute attack of the Grip and in the House nearly all the time, Dr. Brown attending me.

Saturday March 5gh

The Naval Bill has been under consideration in Senate while I have been ill and am yet very weak. I took part in the Debate today making a speach of 45 minutes which was said to [be] quite a good presentation; at all Events had great attention in the Senate—and complimented on Both sides after it was deliverd.

Sunday March 6, 1904

Arthur spent day with me. Bess Wilton Daisy & Bromy dined with us.

Monday 7th

At Senate Nothing of importance.

Tuesday 8

Meeting in Conference Room with Williams and number of House Committee on Territrys on admission of New States. Nothing Definate.

Wednesday & Thursday 9 & 10

Nothing Special But passage at Annapolis of Franchise Amendmts in the House of Delegates Attny Genl opposed and Governor Warfield throwing cold water on it.

Called on Senator Tillman who is quite sick; so is Senator Stone.

Friday 11th March 1904

This is my 65th Birthday. How time has flown. I cannot realise it and while I know I am not in as vigorous health as I have enjoyed yet I am thankfull that I can and do attend to affairs with a good deal of vigor. What Events have crowded in my life. How I have been blessed with health prosperity in all personal affairs—and in all political aspirations Never defeated but once and then for the 4 term in the Senate 1897. Defeated by the B & O RRoads and their mony. But above all I have been blessed with a happy home. All of our children have grown up and have been a comfort to wife and self All but one married So here we are as the sand is running lower in the glass with only three of us under the home roof. Such is life but no complaint only devout thanks to the Heavenly Father for the immeasurable blessings given me and mine. Happy content and while friends and the papers talk of me for the Presidency I in fact have no such aspirations, have done nothing to secure it Do not Expect it. Content Satisfied.

APG

SIDELIGHTS

ARCHEOLOGICAL EXPLORATIONS AT FORT McHENRY, 1958

By G. HUBERT SMITH

During the spring and summer of 1958, archeological explorations were conducted at Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine as a part of the work of the Historical and Archeological Research Project (MISSION 66) at the monument.¹ The primary objective of the excavations was that of obtaining further information on the fort, especially for the period of 1814, supplementing that preserved in documentary sources— particularly on the physical appearance of the post at that time. In the course of excavation specimens of various kinds were also encountered, and although most of these were preserved, regardless of probable age or historical significance, collecting of specimens was secondary in importance to obtaining further information on former buildings and structures no longer visible above ground.

A measure of success marked the archeological investigations. Because of the great size and historical complexity of Fort McHenry this initial work could, however, be no more than exploratory in character. No attempt was made to open completely large areas of the site, and excavations were conducted by trenching larger areas of special interest, and by opening smaller areas near surviving buildings. The latter was done in part to assist historical architects in making measured drawings and photographs of several buildings, as a project of the revived Historic American Buildings Survey.

Thus the Research Project provided for systematic collection at Fort McHenry of archival materials on the history of the post, systematic collection, in measured architectural drawings and photographs, of new records of the post, and systematic archeological investigation—each undertaking the first of its kind at Fort McHenry. With respect to excavations, the effort of 1958 was confined to problems directly suggested by documentary studies, no general search being made for unrecorded remains.

¹ An account of the project appears in "The Restoration of Fort McHenry," R. Walsh, ed. by S. Sydney Bradford, in *Md. Hist. Mag.*, Vol. 53, No. 3, September, 1958, pp. 211-214.

The archeological work was begun at the sites of a boundary wall, in existence in 1819 and probably built just previously, and of an adjacent group of tavern buildings, originally private property and perhaps older than Fort McHenry itself, which were begun in 1794 at the site of a fortification of the Revolutionary War. The wall was of special historic interest because of the fact that although built shortly after the well-remembered bombardment of September, 1814, it marked the original limits of the military reservation, the size of which was doubled in 1836. As for the tavern, it was of special interest in that it formed a part of the setting for the attack by the British fleet, having subsequently been demolished by the military, when it also became public property.

A major effort of the excavations was a search for evidence of the greater Lower and Upper Water Batteries, of importance in 1814 but long since leveled and replaced by other earthworks. This search was conducted in part with manual labor, customary in archeological excavations, in part by using mechanical equipment (a hydraulic back-hoe) in order to explore further than would otherwise have been possible, and at lesser expense. Other smaller investigations were also made, both inside and outside the surviving Star Fort, or nucleus of Fort McHenry, including study with the architects of selected surviving buildings, and at a site within the court but not in the immediate vicinity of a building. This last excavation produced perhaps the most generally interesting evidence of the season, in timber remains of the step or brace for an early flagstaff.

Despite the limited results of this first archeological campaign at Fort McHenry, the excavations have once again demonstrated the applicability of archeological methods to historic sites, including those of such relative recency as the 18th and 19th centuries—in this case, a large site from which it might have been thought that little of importance could still be learned by such methods, especially in view of the wealth of documentary sources of information. Visitors to the excavations, indeed, frequently expressed surprise at realizing that anything remained, structural or artifactual, to be exposed by excavation.

No site of long human occupation and use is, however, completely devoid of all remains, hidden away from sight—not even a well-policed military site—and the present explorations clearly revealed the desirability of additional work of this kind, closely correlated with documentary and architectural studies.

Of wide interest in the explorations at Fort McHenry was the verification of the site of a flagstaff of 1803, and perhaps previous

as well as subsequent use, and the recovery of large, still-sound hewn timbers, which shed light on the design and construction of the early staff. As specimens of older woodworking these timbers have their own interest, while the fact that they were used at an early date—and perhaps during the bombardment of September, 1814—adds materially to their value for study and exhibit.

Study of the surviving Powder Magazine of the Star Fort provided new data on the historical development of this somewhat complicated structure—also a part of the scene of the bombardment of 1814—data helpful in the architectural research on this structure, and additions to knowledge were also made in excavations adjacent to other structures of the Star Fort. Even at sites of buildings long ago pulled down, reopening the sites established the fact that despite demolition the structures had not been completely obliterated. In one fortunate instance, numerous dressed-stone members were obtained, probably once used in a handsome reservation gate, and with further study it may be possible, from the surviving stones, to reconstruct the gate though it was taken down more than a century ago.

Although investigation of the area of the original Lower and Upper Water Batteries produced no clear evidence of them, it did contribute to knowledge since it provided abundant evidence of extensive alteration in the terrain in this part of the old fortification, in successive construction and demolition. Fortunately for history, documentary records of the post, including numerous plans, of various periods, provide reliable data on these important outer works, and further excavation was recommended in the belief that parts of the original may yet be found.

Finally, as part of the archeological investigation of 1958, a limited collection of documented specimens obtained on the site, and of undoubted association with it, is now available for study and exhibit, illustrating various aspects of the everyday history of the fort at different periods in the past—a collection to which additions can also be made with further work. Among these objects military specimens are, of course, of special interest. Two of these, fragments of large bombs of the general type used in the War of 1812, may actually have fallen during the bombardment.

Such excavated specimens have a relatively high value for both study and exhibit since they are not merely typical historic objects, of dubious or unknown association, but objects actually once used at the post. In this respect the timbers found at the site of a flag-staff in use in 1803 are especially noteworthy inasmuch as this staff later carried the Stars and Stripes seen by Key—still preserved at

the U. S. National Museum—the timbers thus being directly related to the composition of the national anthem, and because of the substantial archeological and documentary evidence the flag-staff has been reconstructed.

THE OPINION OF MARYLAND ON THE EMANCIPATION
PROCLAMATION: BERNAL TO RUSSELL,
SEPT. 23, 1862

By CHARLES L. WAGANDT

In March of 1862 Lincoln offered a plan to provide federal compensation for those loyal slave states who would free their Negroes. Repeatedly the President urged the Border States to accede to his request. The appeals proved fruitless.

Meanwhile the radicals clamored for action again slavery. It began to appear more serious to deny their impetuous desires than to continue the futile courtship of unresponsive Border State conservatives. Then came Lee's invasion of Maryland in September of 1862. Lincoln vowed to God that if the rebels were driven back from the state, he would issue an Emancipation Proclamation. He was at the Soldiers' Home, three miles from Washington, when the news came that cleared the way for the document. The rebels had been turned back at Antietam.

Lincoln returned to the capital and on September 23 announced to the world that he would 100 days hence declare free all slaves within any area still in rebellion against the United States. Many northerners applauded, but most Marylanders registered a distaste ranging from mild regret to bitter criticism. One writer scorned the edict as nothing more than a "paper manifesto," while another claimed it would have no influence in rebel areas but would exert a "crushing and withering" effect upon Maryland.¹ Conservative Unionists felt cheated. The President seemed to have deserted them and joined the abolitionists. After struggling manfully and standing firmly in times of great danger, Lincoln, they charged, "struggled and stood no longer."²

Keenly aware of conservative Unionist disappointment over the Proclamation was the British consul in Baltimore, Frederic Bernal. He wrote an interesting letter to John Russell, the first Earl Russell and then England's foreign secretary. The document disclosed local

¹ "Observer" to editor, *Baltimore American*, October 14, 1862.

² *Congressional Globe*, 37th Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. 33, Pt. 1, 147-151. John W. Crisfield, Congressman from Maryland, was the speaker.

reactions and reported an interesting proposal of John Pendleton Kennedy. The latter was an outstanding Unionist who adjusted to Maryland's rapid changes in sentiment. A moderate conservative, Kennedy had already achieved distinction as an author and statesman.

FREDERIC BERNAL TO LORD RUSSELL³

British Consulate for the State of Maryland
Baltimore, 23rd September, 1862

No. 10

My Lord,

The President's Emancipation Proclamation has fallen like a thunderbolt on the Union men here, who regard it with dismay as being in direct contradiction with what they were led to expect. Mr. John P. Kennedy, formerly United States Senator⁴ for this State, and Secretary of the Navy under President Fillmore, told a Gentleman of my acquaintance not a week ago that the Conservative Party had quite got the upper hand at Washington. He told him that while at Saragtoga⁵ a short time back Marshal Lamon⁶ formerly President Lincoln's law-partner at Springfield, and appointed by him Marshal of the District of Columbia, called on and asked me to ask him to give, in writing, his views on the position of affairs—Mr. Kennedy complied, and the tenour of his opinion was that the President should take advantage of the first Federal victory to issue a Proclamation—Kennedy complied, and the tenour of his opinion was that the President should take advantage of the first Federal victory to issue a Proclamation to the South, assuring them that he had not the least intention of attacking their rights, and offering them every guarantee of the same. That he should propose an armistice of ninety days, and more, during that period, should open the Ports for the admission of everything except munitions of War. Marshal Lamon expressed himself delighted with these views, and requested Mr. Kennedy to get the signatures of other parties, whom he named, in order that they might be laid before the President, whom, he added, required the support of the Conservatives—And now, in face of this, appears this extreme Proclamation, another proof of Mr. Lincoln's weakness, and inability to withstand pressure. The Secessionists are of course jubilant, considering, with reason, that their cause will be greatly strengthened by the President's step.

I have the honor to be . . .

The Right Honble.

Earl Russell K.G.

³ Unpublished Crown-Copyright material in the Public Record Office, London, has been reproduced by permission of the Controller of H. M. Stationery Office.

⁴ John Pendleton Kennedy (1795-1870), though at one time a Congressman and President Fillmore's Secretary of Navy, never served as a United States Senator. His brother Anthony, however, was then completing a term in that office.

⁵ Saratoga, New York.

⁶ Ward Hill Lamon (1828-1893).

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Fenollosa and His Circle, with other Essays in Biography. By VAN WYCK BROOKS. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1962. vii, 321. \$5.

If any writer of our time deserved the rather pompous title "Dean of American Letters," that man was surely Van Wyck Brooks, whose recent death at the age of seventy-five ended a literary career that had begun in 1909. In fifty-five years of writing he published twenty-odd volumes of biography and cultural history and displayed an unrivaled ability to untangle the many threads that, woven together, make up the American pattern.

Usually Brooks chose as his subjects the "greats" of American intellectual history: Irving, Emerson, Twain, James, for biographical studies that were always illuminating, even if many readers—as in the case of *The Ordeal of Mark Twain*, might disagree with his interpretation. But much of the peculiar value of his work lay in his gift for recognizing the contributions of lesser people to the total picture of a period, and in his remarkable knowledge of these minor figures, their lives and their works.

Of the lives of such people is the present volume made: Fenollosa, Fanny Wright, John Lloyd Stephens, George Catlin, Charles Wilkes, Charles Godfrey Leland, Randolph Bourne. Except for the last in the list, these names will probably ring only the faintest of bells in the minds of most readers; and even Bourne, who died in 1918, is now but a fading memory. Yet each, in his own perhaps small way, was important. Nor is the list so heterogeneous as it might at first seem. For each of these, even Bourne in a different fashion, was someone trying to escape from the increasingly urbanized world of the 19th century into a simpler life, closer to an ideal, unspoiled world of nature. Behind most of them stood the tall figure of Rousseau.

"Fenollosa and His Circle," the essay that gives its title to the volume, deals with a man who, Brooks admits, is often called "shadowy" and whose "circle" contained men (Henry Adams, John La Farge, Percival Lowell, Lafcadio Hearn) far better known than he. In this essay, Brooks tried to do, on a smaller scale, for Japan what he had already done for Italy in *The Dream of Arcadia*

(1958): to give the history of the discovery by Americans of the art, indeed the whole culture, of a nation previously unknown to them. Ernest Fenollosa and his friends performed the double feat of introducing ancient Japanese art to America and of rediscovering it for the Japanese themselves. It was being rapidly forgotten at home as one of the results of the Westernizing of Japan; and the examples of it that had reached Europe, to influence such artists as Whistler and Beardsley, were usually inferior. As a result of Fenollosa's expert knowledge and vast energy, great collections of superb specimens were brought to this country. There were literary repercussions also: Percival Lowell wrote letters to his little sister, Amy, which had their effect on her poetry; and the translation of the Noh Plays, passing through the hands of Ezra Pound, strongly influenced Yeats in the stylized poetic dramas of his last period.

But it was not only Japanese art that charmed these American explorers; it was—and here we find the link with the other subjects of Brooks' sketches—the whole Japanese way of life. To them, the western world had become merely a vast suburb of Boston, standardized, artificial, materialistic. In Japan, they found an exquisitely polite people, living simple lives, every detail of which was closely associated with nature. Japan was an ideal escape from an increasingly vulgar America, another of the "dreams of Arcadia" that have haunted Americans as the rural society of the Colonial and Federal periods vanished into history.

So it was with the other figures in this little gallery: Stephens exploring the ruins of Arabia and of Central America; Catlin painting the dying remnants of the Indians on the western plains; Leland living among the gypsies; Wilkes sailing through the islands of the South Seas and along the fringes of Antarctica. Even Fanny Wright, escaping from England and establishing "Nashoba" near Nashville in 1825, was fleeing from what she considered a corrupt society into the primeval innocence of the American wilderness. It is easy to smile at this rather preposterous female, her brain sadly muddled by Rousseau and Godwin, as she tried to found her "ideal community," one of the hundred and seventy-eight such that were attempted in America in fifty years. Yet she was the friend of Jefferson and the protégée of Lafayette, and she made the first serious effort in this country to free the slaves.

The essay on Bourne falls into a somewhat different category, for here Brooks was writing of a man he actually knew and of a literary figure rather than an explorer. Yet even Bourne was fleeing, not from the material standardization of America, but from its intellectual stagnation. Bourne is almost forgotten now; his

books are not readily available, and the excerpts found occasionally in anthologies are disappointing. As a critic, he left no mark on American literature. But he was something of a personage in the days before the First World War; indeed, his pacifistic attitude in 1917 wrecked the magazine *The Seven Arts*. He represented another of the recurring American rediscoveries of Europe in that he drew attention to the new English and particularly the Continental writers. He indulged in the mild radicalism of a period when to read Tolstoy, Shaw, and Wells was considered "advanced." Yet it was an exciting period, for much of modern American literature was striving to be born.

This—presumably—last of Van Wyck Brooks' works will certainly not rank as one of his greatest; nevertheless, it is an interesting, if small, contribution to the intellectual history of America.

TENCH FRANCIS TILGHMAN

Virginia Polytechnic Institute

John J. Crittenden, The Struggle for the Union. By ALBERT D. KIRWAN. Lexington, Ky.; University of Kentucky Press, 1962. xii, 514. \$8.50.

For decades students of nineteenth century America lamented the lack of a scholarly biography of John J. Crittenden. This Kentucky politician—one is almost tempted to employ the hortatory "statesman"—figured prominently in state and national politics for over fifty years, from the Era of Good Feelings to the Bad Feelings of the Civil War. Clay's understudy for many years, Crittenden nevertheless seemed to play such a significant second fiddle that his life, examined critically, promised to illuminate much of the Middle Period record. Professor Kirwan's full-length study fulfills many of our expectations, but by no means all.

Much of the problem lies in the emphasis. As the subtitle indicates, Crittenden the Unionist, not Crittenden the Kentucky Whig, receives the principal focus. The final years of life, those immediately preceding and following the Constitutional Union Party campaign and the Crittenden Compromise proposals, comprise a full third of the text. This is not to say that the early years are glossed over impatiently, but a more balanced portrait of Crittenden should have included more pertinent analysis of the 1820's and the whole problem of the Whig Dilemma. For when we finish the two

first major sections, "Clay's Lieutenant," and "Party Leader," providing a reliable, well-written account of the Crittenden Story, we have learned surprisingly little about larger political forces, not already available elsewhere. Kirwan's immersion in Whig sources might have led to more extended asides on the Whig party.

The work is based primarily, of course, on the two major sets of Crittenden Papers at the Library of Congress and Duke University. They are both relatively thin on earlier decades (for instance they are disappointing on the national bank issue of the 1830's), and this doubtless partially accounts for Kirwan's layout. To supplement, the author examined many other manuscript collections (the Clay Papers have predictably yielded much). Newspaper research, which since the Manuscript Revolution tends to be slighted, has not been prodigious by any means.

What then of the book's heart, the concluding paean to Unionism? A warning sign pops up at once in its title: "The Patriot," and the admiring account leaves the impression that the author has not probed as critically as he might have into motives and interests. But before this review becomes a cavalcade of caviling, let me say that this is by far the best part of the work, and a fine, sustained piece of writing by any standards. That it will not wholly satisfy everyone merely attests to the fact that historical problems of Civil War causation have not yet even been acceptably defined, much less settled. This version of Crittenden, the compromising lover of the Union, is very reminiscent, on an individual basis, of another strong defence of accommodating Unionism, Nevins' *Ordeal of the Union*.

With the theme never in doubt, and scarcely questioned, a picture of Unionist political action at its most admirable emerges. But was this enough, when it meant the subordination of issues? Kirwan follows the "repressible conflict" approach, relying heavily on Randall, in seeing no issues worth a war in 1860-61. Perhaps not, but perhaps there were issues worth fighting for, that is, worth agitating. The tragedy of Crittenden's life, and his final failure, lies in his commitment to an America Half Slave and Half Free. Crittenden's attachment to the idea of Union became total; he hoped to leave social and constitutional problems of "What Kind of Union?" to later generations.

FRANK OTTO GATELL

University of Maryland

Catholics and the American Revolution: A Study in Religious Climate. By CHARLES H. METZGER, S. J. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1962. x, 306. \$5.

The author of the present volume wrote some time ago a standard study of the Quebec Act, which now provides a central point of an analysis of the religious climate Catholics found on the eve of the American Revolution. In substance they were faced with an explosive gust of "no popery" when the British Government made a religious settlement highly favorable to the French Catholics and an equally satisfying provision for their access to the trans-Appalachian west. He attempts to fix the "Crest and Ebb of the Tide" of the "no popery" attitude.

In this climate the Catholic finds a problem peculiar to himself in facing the prospect of political independence for the Thirteen Colonies. Would he exchange the rule of King George whose voice was at a safe distance and now mellowed in the tone of the Quebec Act for the strident directives of a potential Adams dynasty near at hand, only recently heard shouting "no popery"? As it turns out, the assembled patriots reconsider the Quebec Act outcry and reassure Catholics. The problem for the historian is now to determine if the Catholic was sufficiently assured.

Genealogists courageously face the rigors of discovering which forebear fought on which side of the Revolution. The present author must in addition determine the religion of those who fought, or tell us all that the records reveal of this matter. Thus he passes beyond leaders who, as historians like to believe, speak for their group. His greatest success is with General Smallwood's patriot forces and with the enigmatic Pennsylvania Roman Catholic Volunteers for the King's cause. The latter are shown to lack the stuff of true volunteers, hence they are not representative of their community, of which they were probably only transients in the first place. In the former instance the Catholic population of the counties from which Smallwood drew his forces becomes important. One of them is shown to have been dominantly Catholic, the other to have had considerable numbers. Analysis of names on master lists provide further evidence.

It is important to point out that another vein lies beneath the scope of the present study and is suggested by it. Regional variations in the experience of the Catholic must be studied comprehensively as social history. A more precise estimate of inter-faith attitudes must be fixed. Standardized Protestant tracts against Catholicism certainly had a different connotation in Maryland from

what was found in New England, from which the author draws so much of his evidence on this topic. In their state autonomy, Maryland Catholics felt secure against any potential Adams dynasty and social rapport with Protestant revolutionary gentlemen assured a return of political rights to Catholics. Thus the fear of American anti-Catholicism may not have been a serious deterrent to joining the patriot cause, at least in this important instance.

A wealth of interesting detail and narrative will satisfy the general reader of this volume. The professional scholar will find an impressive array of primary material but will regret a lack of discussion of recent literature. Father Metzger's colleagues of this area of study are grateful for the added labors of a busy teacher that made possible his latest book.

THOMAS O'BRIEN HANLEY

Marquette University

Brides From Bridewell: Female Felons Sent to Colonial America.

By WALTER HART BLUMENTHAL. Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1962. 1939. \$3.

The general outlines of the traffic in bonded labor from Europe are reasonably well-known to American historians. Colonials, particularly those in the plantation colonies, supported the trade to obtain badly needed laborers. They even bought "his Majesty's seven year passengers," as convicts and felons were called, though many leaders felt that importation of these was contrary to good policy. In most accounts the traffic in convict labor has usually been subordinated to the quantitatively greater trade in the several kinds of indentured servants. But it would be inaccurate to describe the importation of convicts as either unknown or a hidden aspect of early American history.

Brides from Bridewell, as the title suggests, describes a particular and less well-known part of the convict trade. Apparently a much larger number of women figured in shipments to the colonies than historians have allowed. Whether the fraction of women ran as high as a third or a fourth of the total may be doubted from the statistics here quoted. Such a degree of exactness can hardly be expected anyway from the fragmentary statistics that have come down to us. If the author's contention can be put in general terms, namely that the number of women was large, the evidence will support him.

As a historical essay *Brides from Bridewell* has several weaknesses. The presentation is rambling and unhistorical. Generalizations from incomplete statistics are risky. Frequent irrelevancies interrupt the argument and leave the reader wondering about the author's purpose. The digs at genealogists and filio-pietistic chroniclers, though possibly merited are over done. Altogether this volume is not in the usual sense a scholarly treatment. There is no doubting that *Brides from Bridewell* is an unusual bit of Americana.

AUBREY C. LAND

University of Maryland

Benjamin Franklin Wade: Radical Republican From Ohio. By H. L. TREFOUSSE. New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1963. 404. \$6.50.

Benjamin Wade, of Puritan and pre-Revolution heritage, continually espoused the cause of the slave and freedman, laborers, prison reform, the suffragettes and limitation of executive power as a lawyer, member of the Ohio legislature (1837-43), State judge (1847-51) and U. S. Senator (1851-69). A "practical" radical in the 1840's and 50's, during the Civil War he was often unreasonable, prodding the reluctant President to immediately emancipate and use the slaves as soldiers and to conduct "total war." Through the propaganda machine of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, he purged conservative army commanders. Despairing of Lincoln's "usurpation" of legislative prerogatives in reconstructing the rebel states Wade made his "greatest blunder"—the Wade-Davis Manifesto. Nevertheless, he earnestly campaigned for Lincoln's re-election.

Wade supported Andrew Johnson longer than any other radical. Although he would have become President had Johnson been impeached, he alienated businessmen and conservatives by supporting labor (intimating a division of wealth) and Negro suffrage thus destroying his chance for the office. Wade was an all inclusive radical, independent of party control, uncompromising of principle, passionate, quick to defend his honor, brash, serious, prejudiced, without the malice of Sumner or Stevens for the South and possessed of a deep sense of social justice.

Except for a deficient treatment of Wade's early life, the author reveals a deep perception of the character and impact of Wade on national affairs. However, his assertion that Wade girded the

nation's "will to fight," while generally convincing, often represents aberrations in his objectivity, e.g., "within a few days" Wade restored Lincoln's and the public's confidence after Chancellorsville [p. 204]. Trefousse's well written, profusely documented work (refreshing after reading Riddle's extremely laudatory, apocryphal *The Life of Benjamin F. Wade*, 1887), with an exhaustive bibliography, is an important contribution to anti-slavery and Civil War literature refuting the "unprincipled" men epithet of the radicals.

JOHN W. BLASSINGAME

Howard University

The Road to Independence: A Documentary History of the Causes of the American Revolution: 1763-1776. Edited by JOHN BRAEMAN. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1963. vi, 314. \$6.50.

In an age when public interest in American history seems to be so completely focused on the Civil War, it is comforting to witness the publication of a collection of documents relating to the American Revolution which is admittedly aimed at use by the general reader and student. Mr. Braeman attempts to demonstrate the background and causes of the American Revolution through the presentation of a large number of documents arranged in chronological order and tied together by a connecting narrative. The result is a relatively cohesive essay on the period 1763-1776.

The documents themselves present a large variety, including speeches, private correspondence, royal proclamations, British state papers, Parliamentary statutes and debates, colonial resolves, pamphlets, newspaper letters, travel accounts, military dispatches, petitions, and memoirs. Both American and British sources are abundant. Although almost all have been published elsewhere, the documents vary in their availability. They range from almost universally known works such as the Declaration of Independence to the relatively obscure correspondence of colonial agents in London. The printed source is given for each document. Most are quite short, and some are heavily edited.

The volume also contains a highly derivative but excellent introductory historiography of the American Revolution and a disappointingly brief but up-to-date bibliography. Notably missing from the latter are any of the standard works on the American loyalists. The use of the book for ready reference will be greatly hindered by

the lack of either a list of documents or an index. The individual documents are thus lost in the essay approach of the editor. These minor shortcomings do not affect the fact that this book is an excellent approach to the American Revolution for the casual reader or the high school and college student.

ALAN M. SMITH

The Johns Hopkins University

Potomac Squire. By ELSWYTH THANE. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1963. xlv, 432. \$6.95.

It is remarkable that almost every year a new book on some aspect of George Washington's life can be written, published and received enthusiastically by the reading public. After the six volume life by Douglas S. Freeman one could suppose that there was nothing to add. However, a new approach is used each time and the old stories are sifted, polished and supplemented by new information.

Elswyth Thane, in private life Mrs. William Beebe, is an old hand at popular biography and historic novels, this being her twenty-fourth book. She has had made available to her by The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association family letters and the correspondence between General Washington and Lund Washington, his plantation manager, never before published. Tremendous research and reading has gone into this biography. Anyone who can master the intricate intermarriages of colonial Virginians, can tell you when their houses were built, what they wore and ate, and how they died, deserves more than the accolade of an honorary degree and can not be too severely censored for permitting an occasional error to creep in among these thousands of historic facts.

Here we see Washington, not as the man of great ideas and ideals, hero-worshipped by the world,—but as pater familias, farmer and master of the hunt. As a human being he is persistent, patient and continually fretting over his crops, his workmen and his family. His gift for detail shows first in his household orders and later in every letter he wrote. Away from Mount Vernon, the homesick General poured out his concern for every shrub planted, for his slaves, his fields and even the materials to be used in building. When he had retired to his “vine and fig tree,”—a favorite quotation, he went about his daily life methodically and disciplined, transmitting his worries and his peevs to the pages of a diary.

The author has gone into the highways and byways to trace the large circle of friends that came and went from Mount Vernon's hospitable door. Sometimes in completing the story of one of these background figures, the involvement of sentence structure and chronology is hard to follow. For Washington the hospitality seemed more often to come from a sense of duty rather than from pure enjoyment of company; but for the women, visiting and visitors were their only panacea for boredom. Real affection the General reserved for his estate, his wife, a few relatives and his young military aids, for he was not a mixer.

The format and illustrations of this book are good. It is recommended reading for any adult who wishes to know what lies within the uniforms, the statuary, the image of a great man.

ROSAMOND RANDALL BEIRNE

Baltimore, Md.

American Song Sheets, Slip Ballads and Poetical Broad-sides, 1850-1870. A Catalogue of the Collection of the Library Company of Philadelphia. By EDWIN WOLF 2ND. Philadelphia; The Library Company of Philadelphia, 1963. vii, 205. \$15.

Throughout the Civil War, the families of the soldiers sought an outlet for their deep emotions; and the combatants themselves, when they were not engaged in battle, required some form of relaxation or entertainment. For millions of Americans, the "escape-valve" was singing. To satisfy the longing of the people to sing their troubles away, nearly 200 firms printed the words of the popular songs of the day on cheap paper, illustrated them with "head-pieces" in color or black-and-white, and sold these little song-sheets for a cent to a nickel apiece.

Edwin Wolf 2nd, the eminent bibliophile and philanthropist, whose numerous activities include that of director of the venerable Library Company of Philadelphia, has compiled a catalogue of the Company's fantastic collection, 2916 of these ballads, with a complete description of each sheet, and reproductions of the more than 200 illustrative headpieces. His entertaining introduction underscores the themes which had the greatest popular appeal, starting with the major subjects of "home," "mother," and "country," swelling into songs of blood and battle, and then into areas of humor, sport, politics, and crime.

Recently the Broadway stage has succumbed to the show with

the lengthy title, like "How to Succeed in Business without Really Trying" and "A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum." Lengthy? Well, not really. A hundred years earlier, according to Mr. Wolf's disclosures, the American public was belting out songs entitled "The Murdered Policeman, Eugene Anderson, Who Was Shot Down by the Desperate Italian Burglar, Michael Cancemi, Cor. of Centre and Grand Streets," and "The Killed by the Accident on the North Pennsylvania Railroad, July 17 1856."

For the student of the mores of the Civil War period, Mr. Wolf contributes a fascinating chapter which might be sub-titled "Morale-Building in Wartime."

LESTER S. LEVY

Pikesville

A History of The Easton Volunteer Fire Department. By JAMES C. MULLIKIN, Easton, Md.; The Easton Volunteer Fire Department, Inc., 1962. 186.

While many volunteer fire companies would wish to have as nice a record of their services to the community as this book, few companies would have so long a history and therefore so interesting a story to tell. Newspaper man and local historian James C. Mullikin has combined his many talents to give a chronology of "the oldest civic organization on the Eastern Shore of Maryland" from its inception following the first big fire in Easton's history on Sunday, February 28, 1808, down to the present day. Well illustrated, and attractively printed, although lacking an index, author Mullikin is to be congratulated for this most readable volume of local history.

C. A. P. H.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- The Confederate Constitutions.* By CHARLES ROBERT LEE, JR. Chapel Hill; The University of North Carolina Press, 1963. 225. \$6.
- Here Lies Virginia: An Archaeologist's View of Colonial Life and History.* By IVOR NOEL HUME. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1963. xxix, 317. \$7.95.
- John Clayton Pioneer of American Botany.* By EDMUND AND DOROTHY SMITH BERKELEY. Chapel Hill; The University of North Carolina Press, 1963. ix, 236. \$6.
- Thirty-First Report of The Society For The History of The Germans In Maryland.* Edited by KLAUS G. WUST. Baltimore, 1963. 105. \$2.
- The Ma & Pa: A History of The Maryland & Pennsylvania Railroad.* By GEORGE N. HILTON. Berkeley, Calif.; Howell-North, 1963. xi, 183. \$5.
- Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of The Archivist of The Hall of Records: State of Maryland July 1, 1961-June 30, 1962;* Annapolis, 1963. 52.
- A History of the Baltimore General Dispensary Founded 1801.* Edited by C. HERBERT BAXLEY. Baltimore; Baltimore General Dispensary Foundation, Inc., 1963. xvii, 145.
- My Travels In America.* By HENRI HERZ. Translated by HENRY BERTRAM HILL. Madison, Wisc.; The State Historical Society of Wisconsin for The Department of History, University of Wisconsin, 1963. vii, 102. \$3.
- Dear Folks at Home: The Civil War Letters of Leo W. and John I. Faller with an account of Andersonville.* Edited by MILTON E. FLOWER. Carlisle, Penna.; Cumberland County Historical Society and Hamilton Library Association, 1963. 153; paper \$1.95; cloth \$4.50.
- Builders of American Institutions: Readings In United States History.* Edited by FRANK FREIDEL and NORMAN POLLACK. Chicago; Rand McNally & Co., 1963. 583. \$4.75.
- The Western Journals of Dr. George Hunter 1796-1806.* Edited by JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT. Transactions of The American Philosophical Society, New Series Volume 53, Part 4. Philadelphia; The American Philosophical Society, 1963. 133. \$3.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Laurel library—Laurel residents will have a long-awaited new library within two years because of a gift of an acre of land at the corner of 7th Street and Talbott Avenue from the estate of the late Charles H. Stanley and his four sons. The grandson, William Stanley, Jr., of Laurel, acting for the trustees of the Oak Grove Subdivision, made the gift of land available as a site for a new county library branch at Laurel, contingent upon the structure being built within two years from May 1963. If it is not built within this time, title to the property will revert to the trustees.

Indo-American Congress—Out of a Workshop, sponsored by the U. S. Educational Foundation in India, held at Mussoorie, May 28 to June 13, 1963, has come the organization of an annual Indo-American Congress on American History and Institutions. Temporary headquarters of the Congress is at the University of Allahabad with Dr. C. P. Tripathi as secretary of the organizing committee. The Chairman is Professor M. S. Venkataramani, School of International Studies, Delhi. American historians interested in participating in the first Congress in January, 1964 are invited to correspond with the American members of the planning committee: Professors Wendell H. Stephenson, University of Oregon; William H. Cartwright, Duke University; and William B. Hesseltine, University of Wisconsin.

Launitz—For a critical and biographical study of the American sculptor, Robert E. Launitz (1806-1870), I shall appreciate information regarding manuscripts or other obscure material. Many of Launitz' monuments (usually signed) are "lost" in nineteenth-century cemeteries, and I am especially anxious to know of their whereabouts. Launitz is best known for the Pulaski Monument in Savannah, Ga. All correspondence should be addressed to:

THOMAS B. BRUMBAUGH
168 S. Washington St., Greencastle, Pa.

Lowe—Information is desired on the parentage of Delilah Lowe, born in Baltimore, Md. March 27, 1801, married Jacob Miller of York County, Pa. March 21, 1824 in Baltimore. The first daughter

was Kisia and the son Asahel, both born in Maryland. The family migrated to Stark County, Ohio, and later to Ottawa, Ill. and finally Peoria. They had thirteen children, six of whom died of yellow fever within one week, Coles County, Ill.

MRS. THETA MCCRORY HALL
736 N. Zangs Blvd., Dallas, Texas 75208

Warfield—Information is wanted on Surratt Dickerson Warfield, Maryland State Senator, from Frederick County, of the early 1800's; or Nathan Gilman Nelson, a Baltimore physician of the Civil War, and his wife, Mary Moal, both originally from Frederick.

JACK SHREVE
Route 1, West Middlesex, Pa. 16159

Titian Ramsey Peale—I would appreciate information on T. R. Peale material concerning his expeditions in Florida and the West.

RICHARD H. DILLON
California State Library
San Francisco 17, Calif.

CONTRIBUTORS

DR. DOROTHY BROWN is assistant Professor of History at Notre Dame College of Baltimore. She recently published "Politics of Crises: The Maryland Elections of 1788-89," in this *Magazine*.

WILLIAM B. MARYE is Corresponding Secretary of the Society and a student of local history. His more recent contributions on Baltimore and Harford County place names are published in March and September, 1958, pp. 34 ff., 238-252.

G. HUBERT SMITH is an archeologist with the Smithsonian Institute who conducted explorations at Fort McHenry.

CHARLES L. WAGANDT is an apt student of Maryland history. Recent investigations in England uncovered the material published here. He is currently engaged in a study of Maryland and Emancipation.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Three-year Report

1960 to 1962, inclusive

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

THE record of the Maryland Historical Society during the years 1960 to 1962 inclusive was characterized by greatly increased activity and development. The principal events and achievements of the period have been reported regularly to members and friends in *Maryland History Notes* and at the afternoon and evening meetings. This three-year report of the committees and officers of the Society summarizes them more formally.

Overwhelming approval and support of the present programs and future plans of the Society have been manifested in many ways, including growth in membership and an increasing number of gifts to the Library, Gallery and Museum. Much-needed bequests of money to the Society have been substantial and encouraging.

Among the more important events bearing witness to our progress was the acquisition in 1960 through the generosity of many members and friends of the papers of Benjamin H. Latrobe, notable early American architect. This collection of sketches, journals and letters is of extraordinary significance, illustrating, as it does, many aspects of early 19th century American history. Competent authorities have described the papers as one of the more important unpublished collections in the nation. In 1961 the collection was added to by the purchase of a smaller number of important Latrobe materials. The possibilities of securing publication of the collection are being explored.

In 1961, also, the Committee on Publications established a Seminar in Maryland History which promises to increase the scholarly use of the Society's manuscript collection by offering advice, encouragement and assistance to authors. In the same year the Society assisted in the establishment of the allied groups known as the Maryland Historical Trust and Baltimore Heritage. The President and the Director of the Society served as board members for the

former, while Mr. C. A. Porter Hopkins is on the board of the latter.

In 1960 the Society received a bequest of about \$200,000 from the late Miss Elizabeth Chew Williams. For many years she had been the efficient Chairman of the Membership Committee and, also, she was active in the formation of the Committee on Maryland History in the Schools which launched the publications known as the *Wheeler Leaflets on Maryland History*. The series, now numbering 25 titles, enjoys wide use in the State schools.

During the same year, Dr. Michael Abrams, long a valuable member of the Committee on the Gallery and a discriminating collector, announced that through the Marma Foundation the Society eventually will receive a distinctive furniture collection to be known as "The Michael and Marie Abrams Collection."

The year 1962 brought sorrow and a deep sense of loss. Mr. James W. Foster, the scholarly, tireless and dedicated Director of the Society for nearly 20 years, died suddenly in April, after having announced his intended retirement, effective the following August, to devote his time to research and writing regarding the life of Sir George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore. Later in the year Mr. Jacob France, Vice President of the Society and Chairman of its Committee on Finance, a frequent and generous donor and a constant and invaluable attendant at our business meetings, also passed away.

In the same year Mr. Ernest A. Howard of Elkton, historian of the Cecil County Historical Society, presented the Maryland Historical Society with \$10,000 for the establishment of a Union Civil War Room in the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building. For some years the Society has maintained a Confederate Room where many fine items have been displayed, and I am glad to report that material for the Union Room is fast accumulating.

However, the outstanding accomplishment of the last three years has been the progress made toward providing the Society with an additional building and other needed requisites for its operation. The death of Mr. John Thomas in 1961 made available to the Society not only his legacy, but also that of his brother, William Thomas, who died in 1947. The two bequests—to be used for the construction of a Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building and to provide for its maintenance—amounted to approximately \$2,600,000.

Because it was obvious that the new building should be joined to our present Keyser Memorial Building, the Society began to acquire land as soon as possible after the death of Mr. William Thomas. In 1949 we purchased the two adjoining houses on Monument Street, and continued to buy additional properties both west

and south of our present home as they became available. The last purchase, in 1961, of four houses on Monument Street resulted in our owning approximately half of the large block bounded by Monument, Howard, and Centre Streets and Park Avenue, seemingly ample for our expansion needs for years to come.

Designs for the new building by Meyer and Ayers, architects, were considered long and carefully, and in January, 1962, both the plans and the selection of the site for the building were determined by unanimous vote of the Society's governing Council. Immediately there was formed, under the tireless and highly capable chairmanship of Mr. Abbott L. Penniman, Jr., a Building Committee to advise, assist and provide supervision in the erection of the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building. The services of this Committee have been invaluable, and substantial progress has been made.

In January, 1960, the Council was happy to announce the establishment of a retirement system for members of the Staff.

The Society's activities continue to grow in number and in diversification. With steadily increasing frequency the officers and members of the staff are requested to help organize, advise and attend local historical societies, to serve on various committees, to make talks, and to participate in various State and county functions. During the year of 1962 alone, for example, officers and staff members gave 24 luncheon talks and 16 dinner or evening addresses. In addition, they made nine talks during week-ends, eight to groups visiting the Society's headquarters, and 16 to organizations outside of our building. We have participated in radio and TV programs, and have visited most of the counties of the State. Upon request, Mr. Manakee, our Director, has conducted classes for teachers and students of Maryland history, and it should be noted that at the annual meeting of the History Teachers Association of Maryland, held in October of 1962, he was presented with an award for distinguished service. Much of the basis of the award was his work done at the Society to forward coöperation with schools. Your President as Chairman of the Maryland Civil War Centennial Commission, has talked on Civil War and other historical topics in Philadelphia, New York, Gettysburg, Charleston, and New Orleans, as well as at many places within the State. Reference to these 1962 activities is indicative of the widening program of the Society during the three-year period covered in this report.

Our recently organized Women's Committee and Special Projects Committee have been conducting successful programs in whole-hearted coöperation with our officials and staff. Obviously the demand for our services is steadily increasing, and we look forward

to the occupation of the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building where our facilities for giving more and better service will be greatly enhanced.

Throughout the period 1960 to 1962 inclusive, the officers and staff of the Society have been encouraged and assisted by the confidence shown them by our members and the public. We are grateful for this support. Under our method of operation, the chairman of every standing committee sits on our governing Council, as do our general officers. A matter of importance is referred to the appropriate committee which, after consideration and study, reports back to the Council for action. The committees and the Council members have been faithful in attendance, resourceful, and highly efficient. They have earned the gratitude of our members as have the industrious and competent members of our staff whose devotion has been a prominent factor in the success that we have achieved.

GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, *President*

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

In the Report of the Director for 1959 the statement was made that the size of the staff was nearly adequate for the load the Society then was attempting to carry. With increased emphasis on the word *nearly*, the statement still stands. In this connection, however, it is impossible adequately to thank the many capable and faithful volunteers who lend helping hands in the Library, in the conducting of tours, in the preparation of exhibits, and in performing many miscellaneous chores in the Gallery and Museum. Without their help the personnel needs of the Society would be critical.

It also should be pointed out that the Report of the Committee on Publications emphasizes the present limited scope of the Society's publication program, even though publication is a prime function of any historical society. To round out its organization, then, the most pressing personnel need of the Society is the appointment of a Director of Publications with competent secretarial assistance. This entails the creation of new positions and the finding of new funds for those positions.

Following the untimely death of Mr. James W. Foster on April 30, 1962, and the appointment on June 22 of the undersigned as his successor, a reorganization of the staff was effected. Mr. John D. Kilbourne was appointed Assistant to the Director—Library and

Archives, and Mr. C. A. Porter Hopkins, Assistant to the Director—Special Projects. Department heads and those acting in that capacity were given increased responsibilities, thus allowing the Director to devote more time to administration and to planning for an expanded program of operations in the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building.

Assisted by the staff and by the various committees, that planning has gone forward. To expedite it, visits had been made by the late Mr. Foster to the Virginia Historical Society and to the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library. The present Director has visited the Virginia Society twice and also has been to historical societies in York County, Pennsylvania; Charleston, South Carolina; and New York City. In personal visits, Mr. R. Hammond Gibson, Acting Curator of the Maritime Collection, has studied the facilities of over 25 maritime museums along the East Coast. Mrs. Rosamond Beirne and Mr. Samuel Hopkins, officers of the Society, also have visited many other societies, libraries or museums. As a result of these visits dozens of important suggestions have been channeled to the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building Committee.

In the way of extracurricular activity, the Director taught a night course in Maryland history for the State Teachers College, Towson, during the first semester of 1962-63.

HAROLD R. MANAKEE, *Director*

REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE ATHENAEUM

Because of extensive maintenance work in previous years, no major repairs to the Keyser Memorial Building were necessary in 1960. During the following year a large room on the fourth floor was fitted with pegboard panels for the storage of paintings. In 1962 the roofs of the Pratt house, the Gallery and the Library were repaired and painted.

The Committee is preparing a list of improvements to be made to the Pratt Mansion at about the time that the Thomas-Hugg Memorial Building is occupied.

LUCIUS R. WHITE, JR., *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE GALLERY

The Committee advises as to paintings, furniture, silver, glass, porcelain, and other items in the Society's portrait gallery, period rooms and exhibition areas. Members of the staff concerned with this department are Miss Eugenia Calvert Holland, Assistant Curator, and Mrs. Virginia Moore Swarm, Registrar. They have been generously assisted by volunteers from the Women's Committee and by Miss Mary Pechin Ingle, Mrs. John C. Stokes, and Mrs. Alan P. Hoblitzell.

Accessions numbered as follows: 1960—105 lots, consisting of 437 items; 1961—129 lots comprising 682 pieces; 1962—105 lots, 1193 pieces. Among the outstanding acquisitions in 1960 were important additions to the Society's collection of Amelung glass from Mrs. Walter W. Kohn in memory of her late husband, and the Sheraton mahogany banquet table of Governor William Paca from Dr. Michael A. Abrams through the Marma Foundation.

In 1961, several pieces of Maryland and English flatware, ca. 1800, came from Mrs. Henry Zoller, Jr., and Mrs. Bernard Trupp, Mrs. Leslie Legum and Mrs. Joseph Kolodny presented a collection of miniature furniture in memory of their mother, Mrs. L. Manuel Hendler. From Mrs. Lewellys F. Barker came the bequest of a collection of Napoleonic items, and from Mrs. Richard Bennett Darnall a mahogany framed mirror and armchair, each Chippendale, for use in the Darnall Young People's Museum of Maryland History ultimately to be established. From the late Misses Mary, Ethel and Ann Hough came a *gouache* by Nicolino Calyo, "Balloon Ascension, Baltimore, 1834." Eight portraits of members of the Thomas family were a bequest of John L. Thomas, and a portrait of Anna Ella Carroll came from her late niece, Miss Nellie Calvert Carroll. Through Mrs. Clarence W. Miles the Society received a full-length gown of organza, by Givenchy, the gift of the Duchess of Windsor.

In 1962 the previous gifts of Mrs. Trupp, Mrs. Legum and Mrs. Kolodny were enlarged with a further contribution of toys and doll-house furnishings. From Mrs. Thomas Sim Lee Horsey came a portrait of Ignatius Digges (1707-1785) after J. E. Kühn, and from Mrs. Robert M. Langdon of Lilian, Virginia, the gift of a piano by Joseph Hisky, ca. 1820.

Outstanding exhibitions held during the period were as follows: 1960: "Table Settings of the 17th, 18th and Early 19th Centuries"; "Photographs of the Chesapeake Bay," from the Robert H. Burgess collection; "Still Life Sketches and Watercolors" by Thomas C.

Corner"; "Watercolor Sketches of Benjamin H. Latrobe" (first showing).

1961: "Lace, The Queen of Fabrics"; "Chinese Export Porcelain"; "Coalport, Worcester and Spode Pottery"; "Chelsea, Bow and Derby Porcelain"; "Civil War Song Sheets."

1962: "Lustre Ware of the 18th and 19th Centuries"; "Admiral Franklin Buchanan and His Times"; "Watercolor Sketches by Benjamin H. Latrobe" (second showing); "Architects' Plans for the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building" (first showing); "Field and Marsh in Maryland," wild-fowl paintings by John W. Taylor and the J. Kemp Bartlett, Jr. collection of decoys. The Society also was a participant in a large Civil War Centennial Exhibit staged at the State House in Annapolis in July, 1962. In addition, the customary exhibitions for Christmas, Maryland Day and Defenders Day were held.

Loans made during the period were as follows: 1960-30, notably to the Corcoran Gallery, the United States Post Office Department and the National Gallery. 1961-14, including participation in an outstanding exhibition held by the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection in Williamsburg; 1962-37, with substantial loans being made to the Academy of the Arts, Easton; Mount Clare; the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; the Corcoran Gallery; the Wilmington Society of the Fine Arts; and the Naval Historical Society.

Repairs and/or restorations were made to the following: portraits of Anna Ella Carroll, Maximilian Godefroy, Thomas Bordley, and Thomas Digges; paintings, "Parade of the Fifth Maryland Regiment, ca. 1871" and "Balloon Ascension, Baltimore, 1834"; watercolors, "Washington Monument and Howard's Park" and "Winan's Cigar Boat"; sofa and sidechairs, spinning wheel, and Pembroke table. Minor repairs were made to other furniture, costumes and ceramics.

In the year 1962 the Committee adopted the following policy in regard to appraisals for income tax purposes and a printed gift form was also approved, to be signed by donors to the Society's collections.

APPRAISAL POLICY

1. The appraising of a gift to the Society for income tax purposes is the responsibility of the donor, since it is the donor who requires the appraisal, not the Society.
2. The Society should at all times protect the interests of its donors as best it can and should suggest the desirability of appraisals whenever such suggestions would be in order.

3. The Society, as an interested party, to protect both its donors and itself should not appraise gifts made to it.
4. The donor is at liberty to make his own arrangements for an appraisal.
5. If so requested by the donor, the Society will obtain a qualified expert to make an appraisal.
6. The acceptance of a gift which has been appraised by a third—and presumably disinterested—party does not in any way imply an endorsement of the appraisal by the Society.
7. The cost of the appraisal should ordinarily be borne by the donor, and is in itself a tax-deductible item. If the Society wishes to bear this expense, there seems to be no legal reason why it should not do so.
8. The Society should not appraise items for a private owner. It should limit its assistance to referring him to such sources as auction records and dealers' catalogs and to suggesting the names of appropriate experts who might be consulted.
9. A member of the Society's staff—if he is conscious that as an expert he may have to prove his competence in court—may properly act as an independent appraiser of library or museum materials. However, he should not in any way—such as by use of the Society's letterhead—suggest that his appraisal is endorsed by the Society.

Adopted by the Library Committee 10/30/62
and by the Gallery and Museum Committee 11/7/62.

JOHN H. SCARFF, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY

1960

The regular personnel of previous years were employed throughout 1960, *viz.*, John D. Kilbourne, Librarian; Miss A. Hester Rich, Assistant Librarian, Miss Elizabeth Merritt, Indexer; and Mrs. Forrest W. Lord, Secretary. Miss Elizabeth Hart, who had been employed as Library Assistant in 1959, left the Society's employ in February. From April to November, John David Zimmerman was employed as Library Assistant.

Other staff members included Miss Louisa M. Gary and Miss Esther N. Taylor, Restorers. Volunteer services, particularly in regard to the Dielman Biographical File, were given by Miss Mary C. Hiss, Miss Eliza Funk, Miss Edith Thompson, Miss Mary Thom, Miss Jessie Slee, Miss Florence Kelly, and Mrs. G. W. Cauthorn. Mrs. Marian M. Malakis and Miss Madeline H. Wells, Receptionists,

also performed valuable services. Mrs. Malakis recorded current periodicals as they were received and generally acted as Serials Librarian. She also checked newly-typed catalog cards for accuracy and alphabetized them for filing. In addition, Mrs. Malakis prepared the cards for the cumulative index for the *Maryland Historical Magazine* maintained by the Library. She and Miss Wells performed many of the tedious library functions, especially as to the preparation of Hayward cards (vital records from the *Baltimore American*) for the Dielman File.

During the year, 397 lots of material were received, 44 fewer than in 1959. A "lot" is defined as the gift of a single donor without regard for the number of items that constitute the gift. Obviously, a "lot" may consist of either books or manuscripts or both. Because of the lack of a Library Assistant for much of the year, it was not possible to process all of the materials received, and there is still a backlog of materials which have not been properly arranged or made ready for public use. As in the preceding year, the indexing of new materials was unsatisfactory. Little indexing of manuscripts was done except for small lots or for outstanding items. Inasmuch as the collecting of materials is only slightly more important than making them available to interested and competent scholars, this is one instance in which considerable improvement must be made.

Important among the manuscript acquisitions were: A large collection of diverse materials from the estate of the late St. George Sioussat, including the Hoxton papers, being letters from, to, and about that family of Prince George's County, c. 1800-1950; records of Trinity Episcopal Church, Baltimore; papers of Annie Leakin Sioussat; 18th century muniments of the Somerville family of Calvert and St. Mary's Counties. The latter are particularly interesting because of the destruction of records in the two counties involved.

Another interesting manuscript collection came from the Maryland Federation of Music Clubs, who presented to us their collection of biographical material relating to Maryland composers. As an example of generosity on the part of a dealer in manuscript material should be mentioned the gift from Miss Mary A. Benjamin, of New York City, of 25 letters and other documents relating to the Tilghman family (1749-1847), primarily letters of, or relating to, Judge Richard Cook Tilghman. From Mrs. Frank H. Merrill came additional papers of the Glenn family of Baltimore, including letters of Robert E. Lee, Jefferson and Varina Davis, Severn Teackle Wallis, and Anthony Trollope and other foreign correspondents of

William Wilkins Glenn, the Baltimore editor of the Civil War period. A prior gift of papers of Mr. Glenn was reported last year. As an instance of a gift whose lustre does not compare with those already mentioned, but whose importance will become apparent in later years, may be mentioned the 14 volumes of postmaster's accounts of the Muirkirk, Maryland, Post Office (1887-1936). As recent authorization has been given to postmasters for the destruction of similar records, we feel that we are doing a service to future historians in preserving even this small group of manuscripts. An addition to an important and long-established archive in our possession is the gift of W. Hall Harris, Jr. of a manuscript volume entitled *Papers of William Patterson of Baltimore, 1777-1835*. This volume contains letters, certificates and other manuscripts relating chiefly to Patterson's commercial interests and is a notable addition to the Patterson-Bonaparte material already here. From Mrs. R. Gardner Smith, of Rocks, Maryland, came 23 letters of the Kirkwood family of Harford County, dating from 1799 to 1845. Like many other families of that period, the Kirkwoods had seen the emigration west of a number of its members. These are the letters exchanged between the parent stock of Harford County and the pioneers in Ohio and farther west. The letters are homespun, but uniquely illustrative of the family interests, hardships and resolution of the period. As a final example must be mentioned the gift of Mr. James Halpin, of New York City, of the Register of Marriages performed by the Reverend Lewis Richards (from 1784 to 1820, continued by the Reverend Stephen P. Hill from 1835 to 1869) for the First Baptist Church of Baltimore. This volume contains records of more than 1,800 marriages whose documentation probably cannot be found elsewhere.

Miss Gary and Miss Taylor have continued to perform what occasionally resembles miracles in the restoration of documents. During 1960, particular attention was paid to the long overdue restoration of muster rolls and related Revolutionary War documents, to our very important tax list of 1798, and to a group of rent rolls and debt books which supplement in an important way the same types of material in the Calvert Papers. It is always a source of wonder to the Librarian that these two ladies can return an almost perfect document for one which was handed to them in dozens of pieces. It is unfortunate that their work must be curtailed during the summer because of the danger of mildew; otherwise considerably more restoration might be undertaken.

Numerous accessions of books and pamphlets continue to come to

the Society through gift, purchase, and bequest. As a memorial to the late W. Hall Harris was given a copy of Frederick, the Sixth Lord Baltimore's *Gli Abitatori del cielo e dell' Inferno* . . . , Venice, 1777; bound with this was the same author's *Coelestes et Inferi*, Venice, 1771. These editions of Calvert's works were not previously in our possession, and it is most satisfactory to have them. From the Western Maryland College Library came a gift of eight volumes printed in Maryland from 1822 to 1860 to add to our growing collection of Maryland imprints. Not only important from the standpoint of Maryland's printing industry, but also as indications of the reading tastes of Marylanders of the period, the titles are often a revelation. Two important additions in Maryland history are the new studies by Charles F. Stein, *A History of Calvert County Maryland*, and by Edwin W. Beitzell, *The Jesuit Missions of St. Mary's County Maryland*. As a memorial to the late F. Sims McGrath, the Society received a copy of Thomas Bray's *Apostolick Charity . . . to which is prefixt a general view of the English Colonies in America, with Respect to Religion*, . . . , London, 1700. Because Bray was the Commissary of the Bishop of London in Maryland, the book, which helps to complete our collection of Bray's works, is of particular interest. Perhaps our greatest satisfaction, however, came with the accession, by purchase, of Richard Whitbourne's *A Discourse and Discovery of New-Found-Land*, London, 1622. This book gives an important account of Sir George Calvert's colony of Avalon. It is more fully described in *Maryland History Notes* for February, 1961.

It is a pleasure to report that 1,037 titles were cataloged in 1960. When it is considered that this work is accomplished by only one person, whose duties also include assisting in the reading room, it will be seen that efficient operation is involved. Considerable attention has been paid to the cataloging of the published genealogical materials, and it is estimated that this work is now about one-third completed. A large group of books, including numerous sets relating to English and general American history which came to the Society from the Library Company of Baltimore, are now being catalogued for the first time. In the process a number of rarities as well as important standard works have been discovered by both the staff and Library users.

During the year, 129 volumes were bound or rebound, and, for one of the Library's great rarities, the Eliot *Indian Bible* of 1662, a morocco-leather slip case was provided. Previously a manila mailing envelope had served as its cover. Like many others in our possession, this book came from the Library Company of Baltimore.

Accessions of pictures, photographs, and drawings during 1960 were not numerous, but certain of them were of particular interest. From the Sioussat collection there accrued a large number of photographs of historic buildings and sites as well as of individuals. Most of the pictures represent the collecting activities of Annie Leakin Sioussat, and usually the subjects are represented at a period when interest in Maryland's antiquities was just beginning to be aroused. Some of the pictures were reproduced in Mrs. Sioussat's *Old Manors in the Colony of Maryland*.

By purchase we acquired an interesting, colorful, and rare lithograph of the Baltimore-Washington stage coach, c. 1832. The lithograph by Endicott and Swett was reproduced and discussed in *Maryland History Notes* for August, 1960.

Of somewhat different nature was a lithographed plat of the Caton family's real estate holdings in the Catonsville area. Published in 1876, the plat indicates various properties, highways and public buildings. In the same general field we may mention a hydrographic section of Patapsco River at Fort Carroll, prepared by Thomas Rosser in 1868. Both came as gifts.

During the year considerable work went into arranging and indexing our picture collection. This aspect of the Library holdings is constantly enlarging in scope, requiring increased time on the part of the staff to administer it properly.

During the year 1960, 3,228 persons visited the Library as compared to 3,178 during 1959. The months of May and June were the busiest, while September saw the fewest users. Some of the topics for serious research with which the staff cooperated were: "Maryland's Ratification of the Federal Constitution"; "History of Ford's Theatre, Washington, D. C."; "Life of Arthur P. Gorman"; "John Work Garrett and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad"; "Commercial Development of the Port of Baltimore." In a number of instances, extended research, often continuing over several months, required the best efforts on the part of the staff to bring forward every item of information bearing on the subject of the searcher's interest. Some instances may be mentioned:

(a) One of the most comprehensive and far-reaching projects now underway is the collection by the Department of the Navy of all materials relating to United States naval history prior to 1785. Much information bearing on this subject is in our possession, and Admiral E. M. Eller, Director of Naval History, has personally undertaken the work in our archives. To date we have uncovered more than 5,000 items with a direct bearing on this important bit

of research. The material has been microfilmed and sent to the Chief of Naval Operations.

(b) Another ambitious undertaking is the compilation of the history of the United States Supreme Court under the terms of the Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise. During the year two researchers from the Permanent Committee spent considerable time in our Library. Of special interest to them were the papers of William Wirt as well as those of lesser figures of Maryland's legal history. It is satisfying that we were able to make a substantial contribution to this important study.

(c) For many months we have been working closely with the researchers who are compiling information for a definitive history of the University of Maryland. It is particularly in our newspaper collections that important data are being found, but, our manuscript materials also are being searched thoroughly.

(d) Over a period of several months two graduate students are carefully examining our holdings for a history of the Federalist Party in Maryland. In our manuscripts, as well as in our newspapers, much outstanding and unique information relating to this subject has been found which has never before been investigated. It has been our pleasure to help these students discover materials which will aid in the successful completion of their work.

Although every effort is made to have all visitors to the Library sign the visitors' book, in point of fact during 1960, of the 3,228 visitors, only 1,532 signed. Of these, 281 expressly indicated an interest in genealogy. Many more who came for that purpose did not so state. Of those signing the visitors' book, only 98 (from May to December) stated that they were members of the Society.

During 1960 the Library purchased a microfilm camera.

* * * *

1961

The Library personnel during 1961 were John D. Kilbourne, Librarian, Miss A. Hester Rich, Assistant Librarian, Miss Elizabeth Merritt, Indexer, and Mrs. Forrest W. Lord, Secretary. Thomas S. Eader was employed as Assistant Librarian in March. During the summer months, Kenneth R. Bowling, a student at Dickinson College, was employed specifically to arrange and catalog the large collection of William Wirt manuscripts in our possession. Other staff members included Miss Louisa M. Gary and Miss Esther N. Taylor, Restorers. Volunteer services, particularly in regard to the Dielman Biographical File, were given by Miss Mary C. Hiss, Miss Eliza Funk, Miss Edith Thompson, Miss Jessie Slee, Miss Florence

Kelly, Mrs. G. W. Cauthorn, and Mrs. E. H. Pond. Most unfortunately Mrs. William F. Bevan, felt it necessary to discontinue her long and valuable work in the Clipping File. Mrs. Marian M. Malakis, Miss Madeline H. Wells, and Mrs. Earl V. Harrell, Receptionists, performed essential services for the Library, including the recording of incoming periodicals and magazines, checking and alphabetizing cards, and preparing index cards for the *Maryland Historical Magazine* and the Dielman Biographical File.

During 1961 there were 3,218 visitors to the Library, ten less than in 1960. Of the 2,187 who signed the visitor's register, 534 indicated that they were members of the Society. March and April were the months showing the heaviest use, while September had fewest visitors, followed by January.

Much of the time of the staff is perforce concerned with general housekeeping and the routine work which makes for smooth operation. Books have constantly to be shifted from one shelf to another, cards must be filed in our indexes, manuscript collections must be arranged and space must be found for the proper housing of our growing possessions.

During the year, Mr. Eader was specifically concerned with a shelf orderliness program, involving such housekeeping tasks as the replacing of worn envelopes or pamphlet boxes with new ones having legible call numbers and titles. The Serials Section in the stacks was reorganized with marked boxes or folders for each periodical arranged by title. Many books were repaired by the staff when such repair could be made by attaching loose pages, or fabricating new spines, and/or preparing newly lettered titles and call numbers. A start was made toward providing new folders for unbound newspapers and to a general tidying of the stacks below the main floor.

One service rendered by the Library is of constantly enlarging scope. This is the supplying of photographs and other reproductions to scholars and others. This service is particularly Mr. Eader's responsibility, but it can and does involve other members of the staff. The preparation of order slips, the selection of material, and the checking of completed orders (including the writing of bills) consumes a considerable amount of time. It is to be anticipated that this work load will increase rather than be lightened.

During 1961, 452 "lots" of material were accessioned in the Library. As before, a "lot" consists of all of the gifts from a single donor and may, therefore, comprise one item or many. During the year it was found possible to reduce the quantity of unprocessed

materials received in the Library, but the lack of a full time indexer has remained our most critical deficiency. Nevertheless, through the efforts of Mr. Bowling, a satisfactory start was made on the indexing of one of our most important collections, the papers of William Wirt. Aside from this, most of the indexing done was of single items or of small collections indexed by the Librarian or Miss Merritt when time would permit.

The outstanding accessions of manuscripts during 1961 have previously been reported in *Maryland History Notes*. In summary, we may repeat the following important collections:

The log of the Seneca River Ducking Club for 1855 to 1868 is an example of highly desirable material. It includes important statistics on water fowl, and casts some light on social institutions during an interesting period of Maryland's history.

A tantalizing fragment was the gift of papers of United States Senator Arthur P. Gorman. They include Grover Cleveland, William Jennings Bryan, Theodore Roosevelt and Cardinal Gibbons letters. The small collection gives only an indication of the many facets of this Maryland Senator.

Another Senator of an earlier day was represented by a gift. Twenty letters of Alexander Contee Hanson, Jr., dated from 1812 to 1817, and written to various correspondents, supplement materials already in our possession.

The records of the old Baltimore institution known as the Free Summer Excursion Society, which from 1875 to the present provided outings to Chesterwood for children who might not otherwise be so privileged, have been given to the Library. They include financial accounts, scrap-books and photographs.

From two sources we received somewhat complementary collections: Records of the Baltimore and Frederickstown Turnpike Company include stock certificates, check books, and miscellaneous correspondence and business papers; the records of the Baltimore and Jerusalem Turnpike Company are contained in a Minute Book of 1871 to 1890.

Our small but interesting collection of post office records from Maryland was enhanced by the gift of nine volumes of records from the post offices at Owings Mills, Gwynbrook, and North Branch (1887-1926). This gift was made to us under the provisions of a post office ruling allowing postmasters to dispose of certain classes of records.

Numerous manuscripts from many sources reflect the current centennial interest in the American Civil War. Gifts in this category have ranged from single Army discharges to at least one sig-

nificant collection which contains the original records of the Baltimore Battery, Light Artillery, 1862-1865. A smaller but similar group of materials is a collection of muster rolls, requisitions and other materials relating to Company A of the 12th Regiment of Maryland Volunteers.

An outstanding acquisition was the gift of the correspondence files of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad for the years c. 1850 to 1870. Including, as it does, the Civil War period, this large collection of 48 boxes of material has interest in many fields. It has not yet been possible to assess and arrange the collection.

As is usually the case, a goodly number of the acquisitions were primarily important because of their genealogical value. Three rather large genealogical collections came during the year, *viz.*, Layton, Morse, and Lyon. In the same category also belong the gifts of cemetery records and church registers (five volumes) which came to us from the Maryland State Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, or interested individual members thereof.

The manuscript collection was also strengthened by important materials on microfilm which will be mentioned in a separate section.

As usual, one of the most active fields for collecting has been the accumulation of the printed records which are so invaluable to our researchers. One of the most imposing volumes came to us as a gift from the Evergreen House Foundation. This was the *Catalog of the Fowler Architectural Collection of the Johns Hopkins University*, compiled by Mr. Fowler and Miss Elizabeth Baer. We have been concerned throughout our history with the documentation of libraries which exist, or have existed, in Maryland. As this catalog represents an important segment of a notable Baltimore library as well as the collecting activities of an interesting Baltimore personality, we were glad to accept the volume.

Continuing in the bibliographical vein, we have completed our set of the Shaw and Shoemaker *American Bibliography* . . . (1806-1810), (5 volumes). This bibliography continues the valuable work done by Evans in his 13 volume *American Bibliography* which we had previously acquired.

The Library was presented with the ambitious genealogical effort, Malcolm Stern's *Americans of Jewish Descent*. This volume attempts to trace the ancestry and descendants of all Jewish families who were in this country prior to the Revolutionary War. The volume contains much of Maryland interest.

Of interest to students of local and family history of the Eastern Shore has been a series of volumes compiled by James A. McAllister,

Jr., containing abstracts from Dorchester County land records from the earliest times. The series has now extended to six volumes which we are glad to place at the disposal of our readers.

By purchase we acquired from a descendant of the owner more than 1,000 issues of the Cumberland Maryland *Civilian* under various titles. The files date from 1828 to 1872 and are one of the most important newspaper collections we have acquired in recent years. The file is the earliest and most complete known.

During the year 1,438 volumes (of 899 titles) were cataloged. Included were all current acquisitions, previously owned books on family history through names beginning with "J," and volumes from a backlog of uncataloged material. Of the latter, special mention should be made that the cataloging of the books on English and American history which came to the Society through the Library Company of Baltimore has been completed. This project was started in 1960.

During the year, 172 books were rebound.

In 1961 the Society undoubtedly acquired more material on microfilm than at any previous period. Fifty-eight rolls of film represent the files of the *Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser* for 1799 to 1830. An additional 38 rolls of microfilm enriched our collection by giving us copies of the *Census Population Schedules, 1810-1870*, for the entire state of Maryland. Other acquisitions in this medium include *Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Maryland* (22 rolls); *Correspondence of the Secretary of the Treasury with Collectors of the Customs, Baltimore* (2 rolls); and *Papers of the Continental Congress: Maryland and Delaware State Papers, 1775-1789* (1 roll).

Items in the category of pictures and prints were numerically among the smallest of our acquisitions. Of more than usual interest were the following: Fifty-five 35 mm. slides of historic houses in Charles and St. Mary's Counties and Annapolis; a Currier and Ives lithograph, "The Great Match at Baltimore . . .," a cartoon concerning the presidential nomination of 1860; ten colored lithographs of Mexican War scenes, 1846 and 1847; and "The Great Fight Between Tom Hyer and Yankee Sullivan . . . in Kent County, Maryland, 1849." The latter print, which originally appeared in the *New York Illustrated Times*, describes an event which was written up in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, December, 1951.

The photograph, portrait, and negative files have been enlarged with much additional labelling of individual items, and folders

have been placed in proper order. All glass slides have been brought together and filed alphabetically by subject.

Visitors to the Library showed the usual variety of interest. The most frequently used materials were genealogical books, charts, and church registers.

Some of the scholarly requests were the following:

Maryland Colonization Society materials—two interesting projects were being pursued in regard to these manuscripts. A term paper project at Morgan State College exploited the history of the Society in Maryland, while a young Liberian student used these materials to explore the effects in the colony of Liberia itself.

An employee of the Department of Agriculture has been conducting extended research on the history and effects of early agricultural societies in Maryland. Her work in this field continued during 1961.

As in every year, Betsy Patterson Bonaparte has attracted the attention of a goodly number of scholars.

Our materials continue to be well mined by the Naval History Section of the Department of Defense, which is endeavoring to complete a survey of material pertinent to the history of the United States Navy.

Many inquiries were received each week relating to one or more aspects of Maryland's Civil War history. It is estimated that this interest was the next most popular after genealogy.

"A History of Maryland Federalism, 1787-1819" was the subject of a doctoral dissertation by a student of the University of Virginia. This interest was symptomatic of a growing curiosity about the Post-Revolutionary Period in this state. Other related research was done by persons interested in political personalities and social institutions of the time.

We are frequently asked to help chronicle certain industrial developments. Specific interests during 1961 included weavers and weaving, the flour trade, the sugar trade, and steel manufacturing.

An interesting experiment in cooperation with Goucher College saw our Reading Room become the laboratory of a course in a new approach to types and uses of historical materials. Each member of a small group of students was assigned a particular project involving the pursuit of a line of historical research through newspapers, manuscripts, and secondary sources. A *precis* on the project was written at its conclusion, and copies of the papers were given to our Library. It was felt that in every respect the experiment was successful and will probably be repeated in the future.

A somewhat similar experience resulted from cooperative research on the part of three history students of Notre Dame of Maryland.

Here the researchers were primarily interested in the history of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad during the Civil War.

Other interests included "Senator A. P. Gorman," "Albert C. Ritchie," "Debates on the Maryland Constitution of 1864," "The Negro in Maryland Politics, 1870-1912," "The Revolution of 1689," "Maryland Press Reaction to the Jay Treaty," and "Maryland Trustees of Princeton University, c. 1800-1820."

* * * *

1962

During 1962 the Library personnel remained much in *status quo*: John D. Kilbourne, Librarian (this title was changed to Assistant to the Director for Library and Archives during the year); Miss A. Hester Rich, Assistant Librarian; Mr. Thomas S. Eader, Assistant Librarian; Miss Elizabeth Merritt, Indexer; and Mrs. Forrest W. Lord, Secretary. During the summer months Mr. Kenneth R. Bowling, who had also been employed during 1961, was again retained to catalog and arrange manuscripts. His period of employment was from July 24 to September 7. Miss Louisa M. Gary and Miss Esther N. Taylor remained as Manuscript Restorers. Miss Madeline H. Wells and Mrs. Earl V. Harrell, Receptionists, continued their work in preparing index cards for the *Maryland Historical Magazine* and the Dielman Biographical File. Miss Selma Grether, who came to work for the Society as Guide for visiting groups, also performs valuable work for the Library. She specifically continues Mrs. Bevan's work in the clipping file, including mounting, captioning, and filing of pertinent newspaper clippings. From July 10 to August 24, Mr. Thomas Lombardi, a student at Towson High School, was engaged in doing general Library housekeeping duties, such as shifting, sorting, and arranging of books. Mrs. Patricia Ann Spain Ward and Mrs. Linda Grant DePauw were employed by the Library as manuscript indexers during the periods May 1 to June 30 and February 16 to August 30, respectively.

During 1962 an experiment was evolved with the History Department of Goucher College, whereby we cooperated in a course on historical methods and materials entitled "Studies in Historical Records." As part of the course, participants could elect to serve an "internship" in the Maryland Historical Society Library. During the first term two girls did so elect: Miss Dorothy Dorman and Miss Mimi Ritter. The interns relieved the staff of many routine duties, such as shelving books and servicing patrons. The interns were particularly welcome help on Saturday mornings, when one

staff member could be entirely relieved by an intern, thus allowing some well earned free time to staff members who normally work five and a half days a week.

Miss Betty Adler was employed by the Society October 1, 1962, to prepare an index to the *Maryland Historical Magazine* under the terms of a grant made to the Society by the State of Maryland. General supervision and editing of this index is done by Mr. Kilbourne.

Volunteers for various tasks included Miss Mary C. Hiss, Miss Eliza Funk, Miss Edith Thompson, Miss Jessie Slee, Miss Florence Kelly, Mrs. G. W. Cauthorn, and Mrs. E. H. Pond. Mrs. William F. Bevan continued to render valuable help to the Society by sending us clippings, pictures, and other additions for various files. Mrs. Ernest A. Rich has been assisting by clipping the *Sunpapers*. During the year Mrs. B. S. Abeshouse and Miss Ann Bagby gave assistance in pasting and labeling materials for the clipping file, and Mrs. Kenneth A. Bourne typed from longhand cards parts of our Inventory of Maryland Parish Registers and Cemeteries.

Mr. G. Ross Veazey, who had been Chairman of the Library Committee since 1955, resigned as Chairman, effective December 1961. He was succeeded by Dr. Huntington Williams.

During 1962 there were 3,247 visitors to the Library, a greater number than in the two preceding years. Of those who signed the visitors' register, 608 indicated that they were members of the Society. As in previous years, the months of March and April were the busiest. May and June showed fewest visitors, and in this did not follow the trend of previous years.

The routine work of the staff progressed smoothly. With the help of Mr. Lombardi a major shift of books was accomplished which properly aligned the shelf numbering of a large section of Maryland materials with the rest of the Library. Miss Rich cataloged 1,117 volumes (1,007 titles), which we regard as exceptional progress, particularly in view of the fact that she cannot work full time at cataloging but has reading room and other duties to perform. All current acquisitions as well as volumes from our ever present backlog of uncataloged materials received attention.

More than 270 photographic or photostatic orders were supplied by the Library during the year. The picture collection itself was nearly doubled in size by the addition of items previously unfiled and many of them hitherto unidentified. The entire collection was overhauled and consolidated, and the end of the year saw us with 23 file drawers of pictures. This was chiefly Mr. Eader's responsibility.

Through the Kennedy Fund 673 books were bound, most of them serial publications which until this time were bundled on the shelves. Both in our files and on the shelves, folders, boxes, and covers were renewed and replaced. Particular attention was paid to housekeeping in the newspaper collection. Many of our unbound newspapers were put in new paper covers and the file supported with heavy cardboard. New labels were made and shelf order checked and corrected. All of this activity has been aimed at better preservation, attractiveness, and ease of use of our Library materials.

Much new manuscript material had to be accessioned, arranged, described and housed. Each of these steps required perhaps more time than any other given activity in the Library.

During the year 512 "lots" of material were accessioned. As always, of course, a lot can and usually does consist of more than one item. It is, therefore, not a good indication of the actual quantity of material received by the Library.

Most of the important manuscript materials have previously been reported through *Maryland History Notes*. Some of the outstanding collections during 1962 were:

Three autograph letters, signed, of Princess Mathilde Bonaparte (1820-1904), the daughter of Jerome and, therefore, a half-sister of Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte of Baltimore. Although the letters are undated and their contents not important, they are welcome as enlarging our Bonaparte collection, which is believed to be the largest in this country.

A small but interesting collection of papers of the Digges family of Warburton Manor, Prince George's County, contains unique genealogical materials dating from the 18th century. Of particular interest are the letters and other documents relating to Thomas Atwood Digges, the controversial Marylander in England during the Revolutionary period. None of the letters, however, date from his period of residence there.

The original journal and letterbook of John Nelson, 1832, contains a completely documented account of Nelson's sojourn at the Court of Naples. Nelson, a Marylander, had been sent to Italy to press the claims of American shippers whose vessels had been interned or destroyed during the Napoleonic supremacy. The journal has been printed in *Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies*, New York, 1951.

Thirty-two letters of John H. B. Latrobe to Moses Sheppard between the years 1834 and 1855 reveal the mutual interest these gentlemen had in the Maryland Colonization Society. Also discussed were Sheppard's will and other legal matters.

"An Account of the Subscribers to St. John's College," 1789, was one of the interesting purchases made during the year. The manuscript contains an account of the pledges made by various Marylanders for the support of the college, and there are ample indications that it was quite difficult to have these pledges fulfilled.

A very large quantity of manuscript materials came from the estate of John L. Thomas. Among these may be mentioned a group of some 25 log books of

Baltimore ships, dating from 1806 to 1878. Also included were diaries and letterbooks of John L. Thomas, William S. Thomas, and Jacob W. Hugg, dating between 1854 and 1898. An interesting collection from this estate consisted of two bound volumes containing, among others, autograph letters of Rutherford B. Hayes, James A. Garfield, Thaddeus Stevens, and James G. Blaine.

A very small but interesting group of letters comprised correspondence between members of the Woodville, Caton, Butler, and McTavish families. The letters were concerned primarily with family matters, but two of them contain very interesting information relating to the services of a volunteer in the Confederate Army.

Another collection was of a somewhat miscellaneous nature but consists of what is apparently the surviving archives of the Old Bay Line. The collection includes chiefly correspondence and daily records of steamer sailings, 1921-1962.

In a larger collection of materials having chiefly a genealogical interest was found the second part of a diary kept by William Chancellor of Philadelphia while a physician on board a slaving ship off the coast of West Africa. The manuscript is entitled "Continuation of a Voyage from New York to the Coast of Africa in the Sloop Wolf." Although obviously written for public consumption, the diary does reflect the stringent conditions prevailing on board a ship, the crew of which lived in constant fear of disease, mutiny and boredom. Especially interesting are statistics of slaves taken with comments on their diseases and other vicissitudes.

A collection of 104 manuscripts relate to the management of the Carroll Litterlouna estate. The papers give some insight into the management of the farm, the succession to its ownership, and relations between various members of the family.

Nineteen letters to Benjamin Denys, dated from 1801 to 1803, relate to American trade with France and the seizure of Denys' ships by the British during the Napoleonic blockade. They reflect very clearly the situation that must have affected many Baltimore ship owners.

A large collection of letters, mostly written to Joseph Wickes, Esq., of Chestertown gives information not only about the practice of a lawyer of that period (1821-46) but also contains the spritely account of the vicissitudes of obtaining a college education in Harvard. Wickes' son, no doubt in the exuberance of young independent manhood, managed to incur such an impossible debt that on two different occasions he was put into jail in order, no doubt, "to secure his person" in lieu of cash. It is unfortunate that Wickes' letters to his son are missing from the collection, so that we have only the rather desperate pleas addressed to the father.

In addition to the above, there were also large accessions of genealogical material which found their ways either into Filing Case "A" or to a place on our manuscript genealogy shelves.

The daily efforts of Miss Gary and Miss Taylor continued to result in beautifully restored manuscripts. Although a statistical account was not kept of this work, it is probable that more restoration work was done during the year 1962 than any previous similar period. Most of these manuscripts came from our large collection of Revolutionary War papers, but there were also many miscel-

laneous or single items which were given immediate attention because of their deteriorated condition.

All work on the restoration of manuscripts is suspended during the summer because of the high humidity which engenders mildew in the wet presses. The work, therefore, is a product of about nine months of the year.

Studies strictly relating to Maryland history occurred rarely during the year. Nevertheless books acquired were numerous. Among the most interesting may be mentioned:

Brown, Alexander C.: *Steam Packets on the Chesapeake*, Cambridge, Md., 1961.
Newman, Harry Wright: *The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate*, Washington, 1961.

McAllister, James A., Jr., Compiler: *Abstracts from the Land Records of Dorchester County, Md.*, 3 volumes.

Keefer, Lubov: *Baltimore's Music . . .*, Baltimore, 1962.

Miner, Ward L.: *William Goddard, Newspaper Man*, Durham, N. C., 1962.

Carroll, Kenneth L.: *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites: A Look at the "New Quakers" of Maryland, Delaware, North and South Carolina*, Easton, Md., 1962.

Cooper, H. Austin: *Two Centuries of Brothersvalley Church of the Brethren, 1762-1962*, Westminster, Md., 1962.

Other important books from a wider field of history included:

Howes, Wright, Compiler: *U. S.-iana (1650-1950)*, New York, 1962.

This is the second edition of a standard guide to uncommon, scarce and rare books relating to American history. It is constantly consulted by the staff of the Society and the public alike when searching for some indication as to a book's value and availability.

U. S. Library of Congress, Compiler: *The National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections, 1959-1961*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1962.

This volume is the first result of an attempt to provide for scholars a central reference from which can be determined location, scope, and contents of manuscript collections throughout the United States.

Boyd, Julian P., Editor: *The Susquehanna Company Papers*, Ithaca, New York, 1962, 4 volumes.

Again in 1962 impressive acquisitions of material on microfilm were made. These included:

Eighty rolls of film containing the files of the Baltimore *American* newspaper, 1831-1870. These were acquired under an exchange agreement with Micro Photo, Inc., of Cleveland, Ohio.

A gift brought us films of all of the letters of Samuel Chase known to exist in the Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New-York Historical Societies and the New York Public Library.

When the previously-reported films of the Maryland Census records were acquired, the Second (1800) Census of Maryland was not yet available. These schedules were filmed during 1962 and the five rolls containing this record are now in our possession.

Under a cooperative arrangement with the University of Maryland, the Society has been able to purchase three rolls of film containing files of the Cumberland, Maryland, *Republican Banner* for the years 1830-1841.

Seven rolls of microfilm were presented by the Maryland Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in memory of Mr. Foster. These films contain the records from the National Archives relating to all Confederate Naval and Marine personnel.

Through another cooperative arrangement, the Society purchased two rolls of film containing copies of the *Baltimore Price Current and Weekly Journal of Commerce* for 25 June 1853 to 12 June 1858.

Use of microfilm by researchers in the Library has increased enormously, most particularly since the films of the census records were made available here. It has now become apparent that in the near future an additional microfilm reader must be supplied for the use of the public. This is especially true since it is anticipated that more and more records on film will be received in the Library. It is probable that it will be found necessary to obtain from the proper depositories films of all dissertations, particularly doctoral dissertations, on Maryland history. To supplement this, the future will surely see the acquisition of more films of Maryland materials in other depositories. Especially significant Maryland collections are to be found at the Library of Congress, University of Virginia, and the University of North Carolina.

Although large gifts, particularly of photographs, invariably accrue to the Library in a year's time, picture and print materials are usually smaller in bulk and in number than any of those mentioned above. Three specific items were of outstanding interest during 1962. These were a view of the Lunatic Asylum at Spring Grove, Maryland, by Magnus, of Baltimore, and a lithograph of the Wilkey Monument, c. 1850. An unusual gift was five folio volumes of the Sanborn Insurance Maps of Baltimore, dating from 1914 to 1952. Although not a complete series, none of these volumes had previously been in our possession.

As usual, the heaviest use of the Library was by genealogists and those interested in related subjects. For this reason the most heavily circulated materials were printed or manuscript genealogies, charts, and Church registers. Likewise, most of the inquiries received by mail related to genealogical problems, to which our reply is the use of a standard form letter, referring the inquirer to a list of genealogists registered with the Society.

In spite of the efforts we make to require a registration of subject interest, it is nevertheless difficult to prevent those visiting us from replying in general terms. Some indicated fields of subject interest were the following:

Maryland Poets
Civil War in Maryland
Anna Ella Carroll
Maryland History 1794-95
The Ancient and Honorable Mechanical Company of Baltimore
History of the B. & O. Railroad during the Civil War Period
History of Baltimore Jewry, 1800-1850
Biography of Governor A. L. Crothers, 1908-12.
Biography of William Underwood, 1817-20
History of Electric Railways in Maryland
Fire Prevention Methods in the Revolutionary Period
William Wirt and the Election of 1832
Maryland Federalism, 1800-1804
History of the Whig Party in Maryland
Effects of the Embargo of 1807 in Maryland
Railroad Freight Rates in Maryland, 1820-1900
History of the First Maryland Infantry, C. S. A.
Silk Culture in Maryland
Effect of the Tariffs of 1820 and 1832 in Maryland
Maryland Agriculture, 1820-1860
Maryland 17th Century County Courts
Maryland Trade With China Before 1850
History of Weems Steamboat Line

The above is only a selected list taken from a small part of the year.

Occasionally considerable extended research is done here on one or another subject. Some of these in 1962 were:

Research on the part of the Permanent Committee for the Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise, which is concerned with the history of the U. S. Supreme Court.

Also, research undertaken on the history of the Know-Nothing Party in Maryland. The approach of this scholar was through census records, newspapers and statistical methods, and quite varying materials had to be provided for him.

As in previous years, the Department of Naval History has continued its research into the location and copying of materials pertinent to U. S. Naval History prior to 1800.

Another research project which has continued for some while has been the study of the Life and Works of Gustavus Hesselius. This study has been interesting because it illustrates graphically the way in which Library materials supplement research collections from the Gallery; in this instance the canvases by Hesselius owned by the Society. In two other instances a similar concurrence was noted. These were shorter studies of the painters John Hesselius and Thomas Sully.

Members of the Library Staff have in a more or less formal way been involved with activities of other groups. The Librarian gave talks to a group at Woodstock College; the Society of Daughters of Colonial Wars; the Anne Arundel County Historical Society and the Baltimore County Historical Society. Mr. Eader has been active

in the work of the Organ Historical Society of America; Miss Rich at Hannah More Academy; and Mrs. Lord in the Extension Service, U. S. Agricultural Department, Maryland University. Undoubtedly other connections could be cited.

During the year considerable study was made of the needs, uses, and requirements of the Library in reference to the Society's expanded facilities. Conferences were held with other librarians, curators of manuscripts, and with representatives of furnishings and equipment firms. Staff studies have also been undertaken in regard to organization, responsibility and efficient use of Staff time.

At a meeting of the Library Committee held on October 30, 1962, facilities to be expected in the addition to the Society's building were thoroughly discussed.

An important action by the Committee resulted in the later approval by the Council of a statement of policy for the appraisal of gifts to the Library, similar to that adopted by the Committee on the Gallery and stated on pages 273-274.

It should be noted that this detailed and excellent report was prepared by Mr. John D. Kilbourne, Assistant to the Director—Library and Archives.

HUNTINGTON WILLIAMS, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

In November 1962 the Society suffered an inestimable loss in the death of Mr. Jacob France, its Vice President and Chairman of its Finance Committee. In the work of this Committee and as Vice President, his interest was deep and his advice and assistance invaluable. His loss will be deeply felt.

As Mr. France's successor in the chairmanship of our Committee, and on behalf of my fellow members, I want to express to all the members of the Society our heartfelt feelings of gratitude for his deep devotion and vision in carrying out the aims and purposes of the Society, particularly in the management of its financial affairs.

The Committee on Finance advises the Society in the management of its over-all finances and the management of endowment funds given or left to the Society by members and friends to provide facilities and income to keep alive the historical and cultural development of Maryland.

In managing the Society's finances your Committee's goal is to keep expenditures in line with income. We have not been quite

able to do so during the last two years for two reasons: First, income has been lost as tenants vacated the properties to be used for construction of the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building; and second, the Society has absorbed salary and other costs growing out of preliminary work and preparation for construction of the new building.

Upon completion of the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building, the book value of the Society's endowment funds will be increased by about \$1,000,000. Our objective is to plan for the re-establishment of a balanced budget when the additional income from these new funds will become available.

It has meant a great deal to the members of your Finance Committee that during the period covered by this report the Society has continued to improve the salary scale and put into effect a pension plan. We feel that our sights should further be set on improving our salary scales and that every effort should be exerted by the Finance Committee and members of the Society to make available the needed funds.

Your Committee believes every effort should be made to preserve and increase the Society's endowment. In handling investments, we seek to obtain the largest possible income that can be produced by prudent management of the investment account. We also seek reasonable growth of both principal and income.

The increase in the Society's endowment and investment income since 1956, shown in the following table, is due particularly to gifts and legacies received from Miss Josephine C. Morris, Mr. S. Bernard November, Mrs. Maurice Bouvier, Mr. A. Morris Tyson, Mr. Harry C. Black, Mrs. Laurence R. Carton, Mrs. Samuel K. Dennis, Miss Virginia A. Wilson, Miss Annie Smith Riggs, Miss Elizabeth Chew Williams, Mr. Summerfield Baldwin, Jr., Miss Jessie Marjorie Cook, Mr. Thomas C. Corner, Mrs. Andrew Robeson, and Mr. Ernest Roberts.

Book Value of Endowment Investments, Income From Endowment Investments and Legacies, Dues, & Contributions, and Costs of Salaries, etc.

	1962	1959	1956
Book Value of Endowment	1,044,549	801,308	482,789
Net Income, Endowment, Etc.	41,045	38,730	26,385
Dues	26,883	26,509	17,072
Contributions	1,508	667	3,050
Salaries, etc.	60,891	47,906	36,979

On behalf of myself and my fellow members of the Finance Committee, I would like also to express our appreciation of the opportunity given us to be of service to the Society.

HOOPER S. MILES, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

The following is a summary of the activities of the Committee on Publications since 1961, when Dr. Kent Roberts Greenfield was appointed to replace Professor Charles A. Barker as Chairman. The other members of the Committee in April, 1961 were: Professor Rhoda M. Dorsey, Goucher College; Professor Aubrey C. Land, University of Maryland; and Mr. Robert G. Merrick. Since that date Professor F. Wilson Smith of the Johns Hopkins University has been appointed a member, and Mr. Merrick, who has transferred his interests to the Committee on Finance, has been succeeded by Mr. Hamilton Owens.

The Committee has reported on the following publications of the Society: *The Maryland Historical Magazine* and *Maryland History Notes*, regularly published as quarterlies; *The Archives of Maryland*—Volume 69 of this important series, edited by Dr. Elizabeth Merritt, was published in 1961 and brings publication of the records of the Provincial Court to 1680/1; *Studies in Maryland History*—none published during the period concerned; studies published with the Society's imprint, but without cost to the Society—*The Hollyday and Related Families*, compiled by the late Dr. James Bordley, Jr. (1962); texts published primarily for school use—*Maryland in the Civil War*, by Harold R. Manakee (1961); *Early Explorations of the Chesapeake Bay*, by Gilbert Byron (1960); and eight additional titles in the *Wheeler Leaflets on Maryland History*, Numbers 15 through 22.

The Committee has strongly recommended that the Society's program of publication be intensified and diversified. Its current publications offer relatively little that ministers to the interest and enjoyment of the general reading public and of the large proportion of its members who are amateurs rather than students of history. With reference, on the other hand, to publications of a scholarly nature, the Committee is mindful of the fact that the Society's contributions to new knowledge, drawn from its rich and relatively unexploited collections, are not only useful to scholars, but are the

basis of its national reputation and prestige. This is a matter of interest to the whole membership of the Society and one of its primary civic obligations. No *Study in Maryland History* has been published since 1959. Except for articles and reviews in the *Magazine* and a single volume of the *Archives* in three years, our publications have not adequately been meeting either of the demands mentioned above.

Actions proposed by the Committee:

1. The establishment of a Publications Division, headed by an Assistant to the Director, whose duties would include planning and overseeing a balanced and more productive program of publication, including editing of the *Magazine*. (No action by the Council).
2. Adoption by the Society of the recommendation of the National Historical Publications Commission that the Latrobe Papers, now in possession of the Society, be published; that the Society, acting on this recommendation, undertake their publication and that the editor be appointed as a member of the Society's staff. (Approved by the Council in principle).
3. Provision for the publication of an analytical index of the first 55 volumes of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. This recommendation has been approved in principle. Action should be timed to synchronize with the completion of the work of compilation which is being done by a qualified indexer, employed from a fund of \$10,000 granted by the State government at the request of school and library officials, seconded by Dr. Morris Radoff, State Archivist.

The further recommendations and activities of the Committee, reported in paragraphs 4-9 below, reflect its view that the Society's program of publications and its activity in promoting the use of its rich collection of papers and documents are inseparably connected. The Committee has, therefore, continued to urge two measures originally proposed by Professor Barker and Mr. George Veazey when the latter was Chairman of the Library Committee, and approved by the Council on February 11, 1960, as desirable agenda in a balanced program of publication:

4. The addition to the staff of an expert Curator of Manuscripts to direct a Manuscripts Division. The drawings for the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building provide for such a division and the employment of a curator is planned at about the time the building is finished.

5. Preparation, under the direction of a Curator of Manuscripts, of a printed guide to the Society's collections of papers and documents, with a view to stimulating their use by students and historians. The collections are slowly being indexed as means can be found. A vigorous and comprehensive effort is to be desired.
6. The Council having deferred action on a third proposal of Dr. Barker and his Committee, namely, the establishment in the Society of a Center of Bibliographical Guidance, the members of the Publications Committee, with approval of the Council, proceeded to establish a Seminar in Maryland History, of which a printed announcement was given nationwide dissemination in the fall of 1961. The Seminar has provided a useful instrumentality through which an investigator preparing a study that seems likely to result in a book or article worthy of publication may obtain criticism, guidance, and judgment on his or her project, or draft manuscript, from a panel comprising representatives of the leading educational and archival institutions of the State. It is modelled on the Advanced Seminar in History at the Johns Hopkins University, which the Chairman of the Committee directed from 1930 until 1942, and which he adopted as an aid in planning and editing some 50 volumes of *The U. S. Army in World War II* while Chief Historian of the Department of the Army. The Seminar has been operative since April, 1962. The permanent panel consists of members of the Committee; the Director of the Society; the Assistant to the Director acting as Secretary; Mr. Wilbur Hunter, Director of the Peale Museum; and Dr. Morris L. Radoff, State Archivist. Additional members with a special knowledge of the subject under consideration are associated with the panel as the occasion requires.
7. Provision in the new building for a study hall, private study rooms for scholars with long-range projects, and a room for meetings of the Seminar. This has been made.
8. Concerned about the high cost of publishing the *Archives of Maryland*, the Committee, after a careful study requested by the Director, the late Mr. James W. Foster, made a number of specific recommendations in a report dated April 12, 1962. It also recommended more adequate provision for the compensation of the editor. Of the recommendations, that of printing future volumes of the *Archives* in the style

of the *Proceedings of the Maryland Court of Appeals* edited by Judge Carroll T. Bond was approved, as was that of decreasing each printing from 400 to 300. The idea that time and expense might be saved by typing a master copy was recommended for further study. No action was taken as to increasing the Editor's compensation.

9. The Committee has arranged with Dr. Marvin Breslow, of the Department of History at the University of Maryland, to complete the manuscript of Mr. Foster's life of George Calvert, left unfinished at his death last April. The text, if judged acceptable by the Committee, will be published by the Society as a memorial to Mr. Foster.

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP

January 1, 1960:

Honorary	3		
Life	65		
Active	2921		
Total membership		2989	

New members enrolled in 1960:

Life	5		
Active	310	315	3304

Members lost in 1960:

Deaths—Honorary	1		
Life	2		
Active	63	66	
Resignations		157	223

Total membership, December 31, 1960

3081

Net gain, 1960.....

92

Memberships by classification:

Honorary	2	
Life	68	
Active	3011	
	3081	

January 1, 1961:

Honorary	2		
Life	68		
Active	<u>3011</u>		
Total membership		3081	

New members enrolled in 1961:

Life	4		
Active	<u>472</u>	<u>476</u>	3557

Members lost in 1961:

Deaths—Life	1		
Active	<u>62</u>	63	
Resignations		<u>123</u>	<u>186</u>

Total membership, December 31, 1961

3371

Net gain, 1961

290

Membership by classification:

Honorary	2
Life	71
Active	<u>3298</u>
	<u>3371</u>

January 1, 1962:

Honorary	2		
Life	71		
Active	<u>3298</u>		
Total membership		3371	

New members enrolled in 1962:

Life	9		
Active	<u>309</u>	<u>318</u>	3689

Members lost in 1962:

Deaths—Life	2		
Active	<u>90</u>	92	
Resignations		<u>134</u>	<u>226</u>

Total membership, December 31, 1962

3463

Net gain, 1962

92

Membership by classification:

Honorary	2
Life	78
Active	3383
	<hr/> 3463

The extent of the Committee's efforts is reflected in the fact that during the three-year period concerned new members totaled 1109.

CHARLES P. CRANE, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ADDRESSES

From 1960 through 1962 the Society offered its members varied programs which, it is hoped, were both instructive and interesting. The 1960 evening meetings were:

January 18—Joint meeting with the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities. Dr. Louis C. Jones, Director, New York State Historical Association, discussed "Everyday Art for Early Americans." The address was illustrated.

February 15—Mr. H. Graham Wood gave an illustrated talk on "Steamboating on the Chesapeake."

March 14—Dr. Bell I. Wiley, Professor of History, Emory University, spoke on "Dear Folk: Home Letters of Johnny Reb and Billy Yank."

April 26—Joint Meeting with English-Speaking Union. Air Vice Marshall Sir Robert George, K.C.M.G., discussed "The Australian Scene" in an illustrated address.

November 1—Mr. Robert L. Alexander, Department of Art, Pennsylvania State University, presented an illustrated address entitled "Architecture and Aristocracy: The Patrician Style of Latrobe and Godefroy."

December 6—Mr. Charles F. Stein spoke on "Fresh Lights on Calvert County History." His talk was illustrated.

In the afternoon series the speakers and the topics of their illustrated talks were:

January 26—Mrs. Helen Sprackling: "History on the Table Top."

February 16—Dr. Robert C. Smith: "Philadelphia Furniture and Woodwork."

In 1961 meetings of the Society's members were:

January 9—Joint meeting with the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities. Mr. Frederick D. Nichols, A.I.A., Professor of Architecture, University of Virginia, gave an illustrated address on the recent work of restoration at the University.

February 13—Annual Meeting. Mr. Lawrence W. Sagle, Curator of the Transportation Museum of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, presented an illustrated talk on "The Baltimore and Ohio in the Civil War."

February 24—Third "Sutro's Wednesday Evening." Musical program. Refreshments.

March 14—Dr. John A. Munroe, head of the Department of History, University of Delaware, spoke on "Louis McLane of Bohemia, 1784-1857."

April 16—Special meeting in commemoration of the events that occurred on Pratt Street in Baltimore on April 19, 1861. The Honorable John A. Volpe, Governor of Massachusetts, guest of honor, made an address as did The Honorable J. Millard Tawes of Maryland.

April 17—Dr. Walter Muir Whitehill, Director of the Boston Athenaeum, delivered an address on the work of historical societies, with special reference to the Maryland Historical Society.

September 18—The Reverend Gordon C. Taylor, Rector of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, London, presented an illustrated address on the history of his church, with special emphasis on the association of the Calvert family with St. Giles.

October 8—Joint meeting with the Baltimore County Historical Society. Mr. A. Aubrey Bodine, Photographic Director of the *Sun-papers*, spoke, and showed slides of Maryland scenes, with emphasis on Baltimore County.

December 11—Mrs. George Maurice Morris of Washington, D. C., gave an illustrated talk, "The Renaissance of the Lindens."

In the afternoon series the speakers and the topics of their illustrated lectures were:

January 24—Miss Grace L. Rogers, Curator of Textiles at the Smithsonian Institution: "Lace, The Queen of Fabrics."

February 21—Mrs. Helen Duprey Bullock, Director of the Depart-

ment of Information, National Trust for Historic Preservation: "The Early American Art of Cookery."

During 1961 the Committee suffered a deep loss when Mr. John E. Semmes, its efficient chairman since 1957, found it necessary to resign. As his successor the Council appointed Mr. Howard Baetjer, II, formerly of the Special Projects Committee.

During 1962 the following evening meetings were held:

January 15—Joint meeting with the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities. Mrs. John N. Pearce, Curator of the White House, presented an illustrated talk describing the refurnishing of the President's home.

February 12—Annual Meeting. Dr. Kent Roberts Greenfield, Chairman of the Committee on Publications, paid tribute to former Senator George L. Radcliffe, President, on the occasion of his 50th year as an officer of the Society. Open house for members.

March 26—Dr. A. L. Rouse of Oxford University presented an address on "New Light on Sir Walter Raleigh."

April 24—Mr. Norman W. Harrington, Editor of the *Easton Star-Democrat*, Mr. Gordon Fisher, President of the Talbot County Historical Society, and Mr. James Mulliken of the *Baltimore News-Post* discussed the tercentenary plans of Talbot County.

In the afternoon series the speakers and the topics of their illustrated addresses were:

January 23—Mr. H. Irvine Keyser II, "Gardens and Houses of the Emerald Isle."

February 20—Mr. Walter M. Macomber: "The Restoration of Old Houses in Virginia and Maryland."

Suggestions for speakers will be welcomed by the Committee.

HOWARD BAETJER, II, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAR RECORDS

On November 14, 1957, a conference was held in the office of The Honorable Theodore R. McKeldin, then Governor, relative to the publication of a *Register of Marylanders in the Armed Forces—World War II*. Present, in addition to the Governor, were: Lieutenant General Milton R. Reckord, The Adjutant General; Mr. John T. Menzies, Chairman of the Committee on War Records of the Society; former Senator George L. Radcliffe, President of the Society; Mr. James W. Foster, Director of the Society; and Mr. Harold R. Manakee, Director of the War Records Division.

Publication of such a register was approved, with each entry to consist of: Name, rank or rate at time of discharge, branch of service, serial number and home community.

Since that date the staff of the War Records Division has alphabetized a file consisting of carbon copies of the Separations from Service of approximately 250,000 veterans. In addition, the staff has prepared a card file, one entry to a card, for use by the printer. By the end of 1962 this file had been completed for all veterans with last names beginning with "A" through those beginning with "R."

On frequent occasions the Division provides information relative to World War II to veterans' groups, government agencies, military units, individual veterans and to various media of communication.

JOHN T. MENZIES, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Following the untimely death of Judge Calvin W. Chesnut, the undersigned succeeded to the chairmanship of the Committee. At the suggestion of Dr. Thomas G. Pullen, State Superintendent of Schools, the Committee has discussed and recommended to the Council the featuring in the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building of an exhibition of documents important in the history of the State and the Nation.

Also discussed and recommended to the Council was the establishment, as soon as facilities permit, of a membership and program of activities for young people. This matter has been of particular interest to Mr. Robert Weinberg of the Special Projects Commit-

tee, and to Dr. Harry Bard, President of Baltimore Junior College. It is further the unanimous opinion of the Committee that special effort be made to install in the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building a series of dioramas depicting the history of the State.

To keep abreast of the Society's growing collection, the Committee has completed a thorough tour of the Keyser Memorial Building.

The Committee is grateful for the continued volunteer assistance of members of the Junior League who help to provide lecture tours of the Society's collections to school pupils, their teachers and, often, some accompanying parents. For the period concerned, such visitors numbered: 1960—7,755; 1961—4,678; 1962—6,894.

The report of the Committee on Publications has noted the publication of *Maryland in the Civil War* and of eight additional titles in the series known as the "Wheeler Leaflets on Maryland History." It should be added, perhaps, that in 1961 it was necessary to reprint *My Maryland*, a Society publication long used throughout the State as a school text. This was the fourth printing of 8,000 each since 1955 when the Society took over the book from Ginn and Company.

BRYDEN BORDLEY HYDE, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RELATIONS WITH OTHER SOCIETIES

For years this Society has encouraged the formation of historical societies in the various counties. In 1960 such groups were established in Queen Anne's and Somerset counties and in 1962 in Anne Arundel and Charles counties. At the end of 1962 a historical society existed in every country in the State.

The annual Conferences of Historical Societies of Maryland continue to be well received. The fourth such meeting was held at the Maryland Historical Society November 12, 1960. Mr. A. Aubrey Bodine, Photographic Director of the *Sunpapers*, and Mrs. Howard Jones of Chester County, Pa., each presented illustrated talks.

In Annapolis on October 7, 1961, the Fifth Annual Conference convened for a series of discussions revolving around that city's future. Mr. Kent R. Mulliken explained the goals of the newly-formed Maryland Historical Trust, and Mr. Robert Kerr, Executive Director of Historic Annapolis, Inc., gave an illustrated address, "Planning for the Future of Annapolis." Mr. Orin M. Bullock, A. I. A., of the Baltimore Urban Renewal and Housing Agency discussed "Urban Renewal: A Tool for Historic Preservation."

On October 20, 1962, the Sixth Annual Conference met at Easton. Mr. Gilbert A. Crandall of the Department of Economic Development, Annapolis, discussed "The Role of Historic Attractions in Tourist Development." Mr. T. Latimer Ford of the Archeological Society of Maryland gave an illustrated talk on "Recent Archeological Discoveries in Maryland," and Dr. Frederic Shriver Klein presented an address titled "Problems of Preserving an Historic Site by Private Effort."

On September 30, 1960, the Society was host to the Historical Section of the Northeast Museums Conference. Speakers were Professor Anthony N. B. Garvan, University of Pennsylvania, and Professor Paul Norton, Chairman, Department of Art, University of Massachusetts.

Almost all of the patriotic societies in the Baltimore area hold meetings at the Maryland Historical Society. Many of them use its facilities for the storage of their records, and others, such as the Colonial Dames in the State of Maryland and the Society of the Cincinnati, hold an annual lecture, reception, or meeting at the Society. With the county historical societies and kindred organizations, it is the President or Director who is in demand for talks and consultation rather than members of this Committee.

During the past years, at the suggestion of the late Director, Mr. James Foster, the chairman has visited many other historical societies to study their buildings as a help in planning this Society's Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building. I have been through the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond twice, guided by the Director; the New Jersey Historical Society in Newark; the older New York and Pennsylvania societies' buildings; and the Massachusetts Society in Boston which is undergoing some renovation. The New Haven Historical Society and the Alderman Library in Charlottesville were other buildings visited in 1962. I have also spoken at the Alexandria Forum, at the architects' tour organized by Historic Annapolis, Inc., and to the Colonial Dames in the State of Pennsylvania.

ROSAMOND R. BEIRNE, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE MARITIME COLLECTION

Accessions were received in 1960 from 15 donors. Among the more interesting were:

From Miss Laura Cooper Sadtler an oil painting of the clipper ship *John Clark* built by Cooper and Butler, the painting to remain in the donor's possession for the present; from Mr. R. Hammond Gibson, Acting Curator, a model of the Bermuda sloop *Hornet* (1st), Continental Navy, Baltimore, 1775, made by donor; from Mr. William C. Knapp, of the Arundel Corporation, a rigged model of the tug *Frank A. Furst* and half models of the tugs *Frank A. Furst*, *Sam Weller*, *Helen W.* and *Mary L.*, and of the launch *Governor May*.

Mr. R. N. Fleagle, Jr., of the United States Lines, presented rigged models of the tug *Ashland* and of a harbor lighter of the Atlantic Transport Company; Mr. Robert E. Dunn, of the Baltimore Steam Packet Company, gave an oil painting of the steamboat *Carolina*, signed "1879 Shinn." Through Mr. Graham Wood, member of the Committee, Mr. Charles A. Coit presented two builders' half-models of unidentified steamboats, and from the Daughters of the Confederacy, through Admiral Ernest Eller, (USN Ret.) came a watercolor and color photograph of the U. S. Nuclear Submarine *Robert E. Lee*.

The Acting Curator presented a plan for the chronological display in alcoves of much of the collection. The items in hand extend over a longer period than that of many other museums. The plan is authentic, compact, and not extravagant of accomplishment.

The more notable objects received during 1961 were:

From Mrs. Henry J. Amon a large, fully rigged model with wooden sails and putty waves, of the four-masted schooner *Charm III*, here named the *Harvey F. Starr* for her captain who was the maker. In a remote storage area was found a pointed and heavy iron plate from the casemate of the *Virginia ex Merrimack*. The donor is unknown but the plate is marked "Old Dominion Iron Works."

The Acting Curator continued to visit nautical museums and historical societies with maritime collections, discussing with those in charge the methods of keeping records, storage, repair and display. Visits were made to: Mariners Museum, Newport News; Smithsonian, Washington; Naval Academy, Annapolis; Franklin Institute, Philadelphia; Mystic Seaport, Connecticut; Whalers' Museum, New Bedford; Whalers' Museum, Nantucket; Pilgrims'

Hall, Plymouth; Museum of Fine Arts and Old State House, Boston; Peabody Museum, Salem; Andover Academy, Massachusetts; and Penobscot Museum, Searsport, Maine.

Among the 11 gifts received in 1962, a number were notable. From the estate of the late John L. Thomas came a brass speaking trumpet; a broken ostrich egg scrimshaw of the bark *Marion* of Baltimore; and five sextants in boxes. Through Mr. Graham Wood, Mr. N. H. Simms presented a hinged brass logarithmic computer scale engraved "George II, Kent School, Thomas Wright Instrument Maker," ca. 1740. Again through Mr. Wood, Mr. R. E. Dunn of the Baltimore Steam Packet Company gave a large rigged model of the steamer *President Warfield* and 29 framed pictures of Old Bay Line steamboats from 1836 to 1950. From Miss Ellen Pleasants came a sketch of a topsail schooner of the Merchants' Line to Charleston, from the papers of Samuel Poultney, 1830. From Mr. Presley Carter, former president of the Maryland Pilots Association came a telescope inscribed to "R. Barclay, Chief Mate of Ship *Flora MacDonald*, from Her Majesty's Government."

The outstanding gift came from Mr. William Calvert Steuart. It consisted of tools, a sextant and a telescope; rigged models of steamboats and of sailing vessels. The whole collection consists of 24 rigged models, 6 half models, and miscellaneous items totaling over 150. Because of lack of space the items have been stored until the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building is completed.

During the centennial of the engagement between the U. S. S. *Monitor* and C. S. S. *Virginia ex Merrimack*, March 8-9, a display of pictures and objects pertaining to Admiral Franklin Buchanan was shown. His rise to prestige in the sailing navy, his part in establishing the Naval Academy, and his role in the transformation to steam power were pivotal. His lifetime collection came to the Society from the estate of his grandson Kennedy R. Owen through the administrator, Mrs. Julia Owen.

Three more maritime collections were visited by Mr. Gibson, Acting Curator: the Philadelphia Maritime Museum; the New Haven Colony Historical Society; and the State Street Bank and Trust Company of Boston. He has now visited 27 such collections.

During the year he re-rigged a model of *Duchesse d'Orleans*. The job was an extensive one, and had to be accomplished at Mr. Gibson's house, pointing up the need for a workshop in the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building.

At the year's end the maritime collection totaled 2,218 items as follows: models, 208; paintings, 142; prints, 162; photographs, 784; navigators' equipment, 223; miscellaneous objects, 246; tools and gear, 453.

I would like to pay tribute to the dedicated work of Mr. R. Hammond Gibson, Acting Curator, in cataloging the collection and arranging for its display in our present quarters and in the new Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building. He has worked with loving care and the Society is deeply indebted to him as well as appreciative of the personal gifts of his own maritime handiwork.

The maritime collection has a great potential to be one of the future glories of the Maryland Historical Society.

G. H. POWDER, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE THOMAS AND HUGG MEMORIAL BUILDING

This Committee, organized in March, 1962, makes recommendations to the Council relative to the erection of the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building and serves as a liaison group between the architects, Meyer and Ayers, and the Council. Frequent meetings have been held to discuss such matters as interior layout, exterior construction, and cost. The preliminary drawings have been recommended to, and approved by, the Council, and at the year's end the architects had been authorized to prepare working drawings.

ABBOTT L. PENNIMAN, JR., *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE WOMEN'S COMMITTEE

Early in 1960 Mrs. H. Irvine Keyser, II, resigned the chairmanship of the Women's Committee which she had faithfully and efficiently held since the formation of the group nearly two years earlier. She was succeeded by the present chairman.

During the year various Committee members entertained speakers, acted as hostesses for certain meetings of the Society and provided flower arrangements. Members also assisted in the Library with typing and lettering, and in the Museum in the conducting of guided tours. Several members served as Registrars for the Annual Conference of Historical Societies of Maryland. Others

assisted in the relining of the miniature box in the Patterson-Bonaparte Collection and still others coöperated with the Amateur Garden Club in the maintenance of the Society's garden. Repair work was done on the draperies in the double parlor, and the usual Tea for New Members was held.

A major event in 1961 was an exhibition of lace arranged by a subcommittee headed by Mrs. George Weems Williams. This was followed by displays of Chinese Export porcelain; Coalport, Worcester and Spode pottery; and Chelsea, Bow and Derby porcelain. Several members of the Committee spoke at meetings outside of the Society when staff members were not available. In the name of the Women's Committee Miss Elisabeth Packard restored two portraits. A housekeeping committee was appointed and the ladies powder room at the Society was redecorated. Again the Committee acted as hostesses at the Annual Tea for New Members.

In 1962, at the suggestion of the housekeeping committee, the chairs in the Bonaparte Room were repaired; Venetian blinds were purchased for the Key Room, and the Daingerfield sideboard in that room was partially refinished. Mrs. George Weems Williams completed a catalogue of types of lace and deposited it at the Society in the office of the Registrar. Committee members served as hostesses for the House and Garden Pilgrimage, and the funds received for the Society's participation were earmarked for use by the Women's Committee. As a memorial to Mr. James W. Foster, who died during the year, the Committee decided to donate funds for the restoration of the portraits of Daniel Carroll and Mrs. Carroll by John Wollaston. The Chairman of the Women's Committee was appointed a member of the Building Committee for the Thomas and Hugg addition to the Society.

KATHERINE S. SYMINGTON, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL PROJECTS COMMITTEE

In the few years of its existence I am happy to report that the Committee has grown from a small local group to its present membership of 16 from all over the State, contributing in the meantime four of its members to other committees of the Society. It has also conducted two important studies, one on reorganizational needs of the Society and the other on the proposed program and membership for young people.

In addition, since contributing \$1,000.00 towards the purchase of the Latrobe Papers in 1959, the Committee has given more than that amount to other Society interests, including such items as a tape recorder, new display boards for exhibition use, slides, a quilt, the Library's book repair fund, speakers' honoraria, and the above mentioned studies.

The Committee has also initiated an annual Maryland Heritage Award in the form of a cash donation to the individual or group who in the Committee's judgment has made an outstanding contribution in the field of historic preservation in the State. The first award, made in 1962, went to Mrs. Frank W. Mish, Jr. and the Washington County Historical Society for their restoration of the Jonathan Hager House.

All of these activities have been financed by the Committee from the profits of over \$3,000 resulting from the annual Bay cruises, sponsored by the Committee since 1959.

It is the hope of the Committee that its members will be called on in the future to provide much of the leadership of the Maryland Historical Society, and it is to this end that the Committee functions.

C. A. PORTER HOPKINS, *Chairman*

MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



American Slavery: The Inn of the Roadside.
Engraving by E. Smith and Co., Baltimore, 1872. (See p. 407)

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

December - 1963

BALTIMORE

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Activities

Provides library reference service to about 4,000 patrons yearly—scholars, writers, genealogists, students, collectors, artists. Mail and telephone inquiries double the figure.

Conducts lecture tours of its museum for an annual average of about 8,000 school students. Another 10,000 casual visitors, including tourists, view the collections, in addition to many museum students, collectors, hobbyists and authorities in given fields who utilize stored items for study.

Advises and assists 23 local historical societies in the counties, the work culminating in an Annual Conference of Maryland Historical Societies at which a Maryland Heritage Award is presented for outstanding accomplishment in historical preservation.

Maintains liaison with such allied groups as patriotic societies.

Acts as consultant to civic and governmental groups relative to publications and commemorative occasions.

Publishes the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, and *Maryland History Notes*. Circulation over 3,500 each.

Publishes scholarly works and low-cost school books and leaflets on Maryland history—over 50 different titles.

Holds meetings, open to the public, for lectures by authorities in various fields, including prominent government officials.

Stages special exhibits with timely themes.

, , ,

For the Government of the State at cost

Edits, publishes and distributes the *Archives of Maryland*. 70th volume in preparation.

Conducts a program of marking historic sites with roadside signs.

Indexes important, original papers relating to Maryland history.

Preserves and publishes data pertaining to Maryland's contribution to World War II.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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THE WASHINGTON RACE WAR OF JULY, 1919

By LLOYD M. ABERNETHY

IN the history of the nation's capital, July, 1919, is widely remembered as the month that President Wilson returned from Paris and submitted the Peace Treaty of the "War for Democracy" to the United States Senate. It is ironic that the same month also witnessed the most serious racial conflict in the history of the District of Columbia. For four days, July 19-22, a full scale race war fed by the passions and prejudices of both whites and Negroes resisted the efforts of public authorities to restore order. This was not the first nor the only racial conflict in the violent year following the war. Before July 19, five race riots in scattered parts of the country had been reported by the *New York Times*.¹ The Washington riot,

¹ The riots occurred in New York City; Millen, Georgia; Charleston, South Carolina; Longview, Texas; and Bisbee, Arizona.

however, was the first of the year to capture nation-wide attention and arouse serious press and public concern for the state of our race relations. This concern was to increase sharply during the summer of 1919, for the Washington riot was followed closely by major disorders in Chicago, Knoxville, Omaha, and Elaine, Arkansas. Before the year ended, twenty-six American cities had been scarred by racial affrays, making 1919 one of the most tragic years in Negro-white relations in American history. While this study attempts to explain only the Washington race riot (or more accurately "race war"), the author hopes that it will suggest some clues to understanding the general pattern of race relations after the war.

I

The District of Columbia, in July, 1919, was still suffering from the effects of its extraordinary growth which began with America's entrance into the war in 1917. A large number of workers, many of whom were from the South, had migrated to Washington to assume temporary jobs created by the government in expanding its operations to meet wartime needs. The total population had jumped from 359,997 in 1916 to 455,428 in 1919, an average increase of over 32,000 per year for the period compared to the yearly average of one to two thousand before the war.² Most (79,942) of the new residents were white and represented an increase of thirty per cent over the 1916 white population. During the same period many Negroes, generally discontented with their lot in the South, were drawn to the North by the promise of fairer treatment and better-paying jobs.³ About 15,000 of them made their way to Washington, increasing the Negro population by fifteen per cent. In 1919, there were 340,796 whites and 114,632 Negroes in Washington, or approximately three whites for every Negro.⁴

The capital in 1917 was not equipped physically to handle the heavy influx of workers nor was it able to remedy its defi-

² U. S., House of Representatives, *Annual Report of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, 1916-1919*.

³ See Carter G. Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration* (Washington, 1918), 167-92, and Louise V. Kennedy, *The Negro Peasant Turns Cityward* (New York, 1930), pp. 41-58.

⁴ A. H. Shannon, *The Negro in Washington* (New York, 1930), p. 20.

ciencies, let alone keep up with new demands for services, as the war months passed. Its facilities for transportation, entertainment, and telephone service as well as its hotels, restaurants, and private housing were all crowded and overworked.⁵ According to one observer, there was a shortage of everything "except incompetent people," and the only places "not absolutely congested" were the churches.⁶ Forced to wait in lines to eat meals, to board streetcars, to see movies, and even to brush his teeth in some instances, the Washington war worker led a "hurry-up-and-wait" existence. The harried competitive environment became even more intolerable to many white workers when they found themselves competing with Negroes for many advantages.

The temporary war workers were not alone in resenting the presence of Negroes in the crowded environment. Notwithstanding the fact that the latter comprised only one quarter of the population, many native Washingtonians believed that their city was being overrun with Negroes. This attitude was particularly obvious in the matter of private housing. Formerly Negroes had been unofficially restricted to a "black belt" in the southwest section of Washington. With the rapid expansion of their numbers during the war, however, they began to spread into other residential areas, particularly the northwestern part of the city. Prior to 1919 their overflow into white residential sections had produced no major conflict, but it had caused a great deal of friction and was a constant source of resentment between the two races.⁷

Washington's unsettled atmosphere was complicated further in the late spring and early summer of 1919 by the introduction of a new unstable element. Hundreds of servicemen who had been discharged from nearby military camps came to Washington to find jobs.⁸ Although no jobs were immediately available and the prospects were not good (since the government was beginning to dismantle its wartime agen-

⁵ *New York Times*, April 20, 1919; "Living in War-swollen Washington is a Serious Problem," *Literary Digest* (April 27, 1918), pp. 53-56.

⁶ Harrison Rhodes, "War-time Washington," *Harper's Magazine*, CXXXVI (March, 1918), 465-77.

⁷ See William H. Jones, *The Housing of Negroes in Washington, D. C.* (Washington, 1929), pp. 58-59.

⁸ *Washington Times*, July 17, 18, 1919.

cies), many of the men preferred to stay in the city rather than return to their former homes. In addition, there were many Washington men being discharged and returned to their homes in the District.⁹ They, too, were unable to find jobs immediately and soon joined their former comrades in the streets and the near-beer saloons to joke, play cards, and trade grievances. Thus, a formidable body of young men—many still in uniform, unemployed and resentful of the employed, particularly if they were colored, restless and full of energy—were eager for excitement wherever it might be found.

II

For months prior to July, 1919, reports of crime—and particularly Negro crime—had come to occupy an increasing amount of news space in Washington papers.¹⁰ There was some justification for the rise in total crime reporting; the crime rate in the District of Columbia had risen steadily since 1917 (see chart below).¹¹ But the increase, when due consideration is given to the enormous population gains in the District during the same period, was not spectacular. Nor was Washington's increase in crime unique; most other major American cities reported a similar increase for the war period. Yet the local *Herald* persisted in calling Washington "the most lawless city in the union"—a title it hardly deserved.

There was less justification for the increased emphasis on Negro crime. The crime rate for Negroes was more than double that for whites, but up to and including 1919 they were responsible for less than half of the total crimes committed each year. More important is the fact that there had been

⁹ *Ibid.*, July 18, 1919.

¹⁰ Herbert J. Seligmann, "What is Behind the Negro Uprisings?" *Current Opinion*, LXVII (September, 1919), 155; "Our Own Subject Race Rebels," *Literary Digest* (August 2, 1919), 25.

¹¹ Crime in the District of Columbia.

Year	Total Arrests	% White	% Colored	% Convictions
1919	53,365	57.57	42.43	93.37
1918	43,245	59.25	40.75	93.45
1917	39,562	58.28	41.72	93.38
1916	39,377	54.50	45.50	91.77

This table is based on data contained in the *Annual Report of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia*, 1919, pp. 188-89.

practically no increase (the 1919 rate was less than two per cent higher than in 1918, less than one per cent higher than 1917, and three per cent lower than in 1916) in the per cent of Negroes arrested for crimes. Since the percentage of total convictions (see table n. 11) had remained constant since 1917, and because there was no reason to suspect a revolutionary change in the percentage of Negro convictions, it is apparent that while crime had increased in Washington in 1919 the percentage of crime attributed to the Negro remained practically stable. According to the statistics of the Washington Police Department, Negro crime did not deserve the greater or an increased share of publicity. Nevertheless, the Washington papers, published for a predominately white audience, seemed unconcerned about the impressions of the Negroes conveyed by their reporting.

In late June and early July, several Negro assaults on white women provided the capital's newspapers with sensational headlines for weeks. The *Washington Herald* ran front page stories on "crimes against women" and "Negro fiends" for thirteen of the first seventeen days of July. The *Times* carried fewer stories but surpassed the *Herald* in sensationalism. The *Post* and *Evening Star*, commonly acknowledged to be the most sober of Washington newspapers, published articles on Negro crime almost daily. Most of the incidents reported were exaggerated; others—recited to police or reporters by frightened and excited women—proved to be completely groundless upon investigation. Records of the Washington Police Department, furnished later by its chief, showed three attempted assaults and one case of rape in the District of Columbia for the month preceding July 19. One man—who, ironically, had been apprehended before the nineteenth—was suspected of three of the four assaults.¹² In contiguous Maryland, one assault was reported in the first nineteen days of July. However, because of the newspaper articles, a large segment of the white population was convinced that a Negro

¹² Herbert J. Seligmann, "Race War?" *New Republic* (August 13, 1919), 49; Glenn Frank, "The Clash of Color, the Negro in American Democracy," *Century*, XCIX (November, 1919), 87. A Negro newspaper, the *New York Age*, reported that the first woman assaulted was a colored school teacher. July 26, 1919.

"crime wave" was abroad. On July 2, the Columbia Heights Citizens Association threatened to hold a "lynching bee" unless the crimes were halted.¹³ On the night of July 8, thirty white men almost lynched a Negro before he was able to convince them that he was not guilty of assaulting white women.¹⁴

Under the pressure of public opinion the Washington police conducted a large scale search for Negro suspects. In a number of cases they were overly zealous in their efforts; they invaded Negro homes without search warrants and indiscriminately rounded up hundreds of innocent Negroes for questioning.¹⁵ The Negroes were both alarmed and infuriated. Already basically suspicious of white policemen, they were convinced by these incidents that they could not expect fair treatment or protection from the police department.

By July 9, the state of public opinion appeared so dangerous to the Washington branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that its director wrote to the four leading Washington newspapers calling the attention of the editors to the explosiveness of the situation. He predicted that race riots might result unless the papers moderated their reporting of Negro crime.¹⁶ Of the four newspapers, only the *Evening Star* acknowledged the justice of this warning. The *Herald* mentioned the possibility of violence: "Trouble seems to be brewing in Washington, and, although the police laugh at the possibility of racial affrays, extra precautions are being taken in territory largely settled by colored people."¹⁷ Apparently, however, none of the major newspapers took any definite action to ease the growing tension between the whites and the Negroes.

On July 12, the local Negro newspaper—sensing impending disaster—voiced the hope that all Negroes would not be held responsible for the crimes of individual colored men:

The *Bee* takes this opportunity to say to the people in this city that colored citizens are as much in favor of bringing these violators of the law to justice as any other class of American citizens.

¹³ *Washington Post*, July 2, 1919.

¹⁴ *Washington Herald*, July 9, 1919.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, July 10, 1919.

¹⁶ Seligmann, *Current Opinion*, LXVII, 155.

¹⁷ July 10, 1919.

The *Bee* hopes that the recent crimes committed will not militate in the least against the law-abiding citizens in the community. Any man who outrages the honor of a female should be severely punished.¹⁸

III

Shortly after ten o'clock on the night of July 18, a young white woman—on the way home from her job at the Bureau of Printing and Engraving—was approached and jostled by two Negroes as she walked along Twelfth Street in southwest Washington. When she screamed the Negroes fled and managed to escape the pursuit of several white men who were near the scene of the incident. By the next day, Saturday, the news of this latest "outrage" was widespread. The *Post* carried the story in an article entitled "Negroes Attack Girl."¹⁹ Rewards totaling more than \$2000 were raised by private subscription for the arrest of the assailants.²⁰ The chief of police issued orders for policemen to question all young men, white or colored, found loitering anywhere after nightfall.²¹ But even with these precautions neither the police nor the Negroes appeared prepared for what followed.

The streets of Washington were more crowded than usual on Saturday night. Added to the civilian workers and the transient ex-servicemen were hundreds of soldiers, sailors, and Marines on leave or pass from nearby military installations. Early in the evening a report was circulated among the servicemen that a sailor's wife had been attacked by a Negro.²² Incensed by what appeared to be a serious wrong to a fellow serviceman, some of the young men determined to seek revenge. Soon (it is not known who started it or where it began) the word was being passed around for all servicemen to meet at the Knights of Columbus Hut at Seventh Street and Pennsylvania Avenue. From there a group of several hundred

¹⁸ *Washington Bee*, July 12, 1919.

¹⁹ *Washington Post*, July 19, 1919. Also, see varied accounts in the *Evening Star* (Washington), July 19, 1919; *New York Times*, July 21, 1919; and the *New York Age*, July 26, 1919.

²⁰ *New York Times*, July 20, 1919.

²¹ *Washington Post*, July 19, 1919.

²² *Evening Star* (Washington), July 20, 1919. The rumor about "a sailor's wife" probably originated with the *Evening Star's* account (July 19, 1919) of the Friday night assault in which the woman was said to be the wife of a Naval aviator. Actually her husband was a civilian employee in the Naval Aviation Department. *New York Times*, July 21, 1919; *New York Age*, July 26, 1919.

men, who were joined by other servicemen and civilians as they moved along, set out for the colored district intent on beating a suspect of the recent assaults on white women who had been released by the police. Before the police became aware of what was taking place and initiated action to disperse the mob, two Negroes had been seriously beaten with clubs and lead pipes and several others injured.²³ The mob's action was shortlived but before morning its effect had aroused tension and fear in every corner of the colored section. In the early hours of the morning a policeman was shot and gravely wounded when he challenged a frightened Negro in southwest Washington.²⁴

The next day was a typical summer Sunday in Washington—quiet, hot, and humid. The police were more alert than usual and it appeared that the riot had been nothing more than a minor Saturday night incident. Shortly after ten o'clock Sunday night, however, groups of whites—composed of both servicemen and civilians as on the previous night—began attacking individual Negroes on Pennsylvania Avenue between Seventh Street and the Treasury Building.²⁵ Three Negroes were sent to the Emergency Hospital from Seventh Street. Later, three Negroes were beaten by Marines and soldiers at Fifteenth Street and New York Avenue in northwest Washington. On G street a young Negro was dragged from a streetcar, beaten and chased by a mob for several blocks before he escaped.²⁶ In front of the Riggs Bank the rioters beat a Negro with clubs and stones wrapped in handkerchiefs; the bleeding figure lay in the street for over twenty minutes before being taken to the hospital.²⁷

Sensing the failure of the police, the mob became even more contemptuous of authority—two Negroes were attacked and beaten directly in front of the White House. At one A.M. police headquarters received a riot call from Ninth Street and New York Avenue where between 200 and 250 servicemen and civilians were attacking Negroes. Five minutes later another

²³ *Washington Herald*, July 20, 1919; *Washington Post*, July 21, 1919.

²⁴ *Washington Times*, July 20, 1919.

²⁵ *Washington Post*, July 21, 1919; "Racial Tensions and Race Riots," *The Outlook* (August 6, 1919), 533.

²⁶ *New York Times*, July 21, 1919.

²⁷ *Washington Post*, July 21, 1919.

riot call came from Tenth and L Streets in northwest Washington. Shortly thereafter, it was reported that soldiers had attacked Negroes near the American League baseball park.²⁸ Another incident occurred near Seventh Street and Pennsylvania Avenue when a policeman attempting to arrest a soldier was threatened by a mob; he managed to hold his prisoner, however, until reinforcements arrived.²⁹

By three A.M. the city had begun to quiet down. To prevent other outbreaks the police reserves remained on duty throughout the night to bolster the regular patrolmen. The toll for the night included fifteen Negroes with serious injuries who had been taken to the Emergency Hospital; many others—bruised, bleeding, and frightened—received first aid treatment at police headquarters.³⁰ That there were no deaths was probably due to the fact that the rioters had employed few weapons; for the most part they had resorted to their fists.

By Monday morning, the extent and seriousness of the riots had stirred Washington officials into action. Louis Brownlow, Chairman of the District Commissioners, and the Chief of the Washington Police Department conferred with Secretary of War Newton D. Baker and Army Chief of Staff General Peyton C. March.³¹ As a result the Provost Guard, which had been removed from the streets on June 15 as a demobilization measure, was restored to supplement the city police. Secretary Baker issued a statement deploring the participation of soldiers in the riots and explaining that the War Department had no jurisdiction over the large number of discharged men still in uniform in Washington. The Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels, issued orders to the Naval Commander in the District to report all names of sailors or Marines who might have taken part in the riots.³² Commissioner Brownlow made a general appeal for order. "The actions of the men who attacked innocent Negroes cannot be too strongly condemned," he said, "and it is the duty of every citizen to express his sup-

²⁸ *New York Times*, July 21, 1919.

²⁹ *Evening Star* (Washington), July 21, 1919.

³⁰ One police official who witnessed the fighting estimated that at least 100 persons suffered injuries of a minor character, *Washington Post*, July 21, 1919.

³¹ *Evening Star* (Washington), July 21, 1919.

³² *The World* (New York), July 22, 1919.

port of law and order by refraining from any inciting conversation or the repetition of inciting rumor and tales."³³ For the Negroes, the NAACP sent a direct protest to President Wilson which condemned mob violence and urged the enforcement of order.³⁴

At the same time preliminary preventive measures were being taken, however, more active efforts were underway to intensify the disorder. The front page of the Monday morning edition of the *Washington Post* carried the following statement under the subtitle "Mobilization for Tonight":

It was learned that a mobilization of every available serviceman stationed in or near Washington or on leave here has been ordered for tomorrow evening near the Knights of Columbus hut; on Pennsylvania Avenue between Seventh and Eighth Streets.

The hour of assembly is 9 o'clock and the purpose is a 'clean-up' that will cause the events of the last two evenings to pale into insignificance.

Whether official cognizance of this assemblage and its intent will bring about its forestalling cannot be told.³⁵

Faced by such open threats as this and convinced after two nights of uncontrolled rioting that the Washington police could not or would not protect them from the mobs, many Negroes began to arm themselves.³⁶ According to the Negro newspaper, the *New York Age*, some Negroes sought to defend their homes and themselves while others armed to strike back at the whites. Pawnshops and other dealers in the District did a thriving business in guns and ammunition, selling second-hand pistols for as much as fifty dollars apiece. The Washington police later estimated that more than 500 guns were sold in the District on Monday.³⁷ One Washington correspondent reported that Negroes placed three machine guns with hundreds of rounds of ammunition and hand grenades in "high powered cars" for attacks on the white population.³⁸

³³ Quoted in the *New York Age*, July 26, 1919.

³⁴ *New York Times*, July 22, 1919.

³⁵ July 21, 1919.

³⁶ Seligmann, *Current Opinion*, LXVII, 155; Editorial, *New Republic* (August 6, 1919), p. 1.

³⁷ *The World* (New York), July 22, 1919; *Washington Post*, July 22, 1919.

³⁸ *New York Age*, August 2, 1919. Even if the Negroes did possess machine guns and hand grenades there is no evidence that they used them during the riots.

The retaliatory spirit of the Negroes was first demonstrated at eleven o'clock on Monday morning. Four Negroes fired eight shots from a speeding car at a white sentry and several patients in front of the Naval Hospital in Georgetown.³⁹ Fortunately no one was injured and the car with its occupants was captured later in the afternoon. On Monday night, rioting broke out again in northwest Washington between Seventh and Ninth Streets and along Pennsylvania Avenue. The police and the Provost Guard managed to restrict the main white mob to the downtown area but they found it impossible to keep the streets clear elsewhere. The fighting, however, took a different turn from the previous nights—the whites fared as badly or worse than the Negroes. Early in the evening a white Marine was shot and stabbed by a Negro near the White House.⁴⁰ At the corner of Fourth and N Streets a crowd of Negroes attacked a streetcar. At Seventh and F Streets a Negro fired into a crowd from the rear of a truck; he was killed when a detective returned the fire.⁴¹ Another Negro emptied his revolver into a crowded streetcar at Seventh and G Streets, wounding a white man and a thirteen-year-old boy. A policeman fired five bullets into the Negro who somehow survived to be taken to the hospital.⁴²

At Ball's Alley in northwest Washington, a young Negro woman shot and killed a detective who had entered her home to investigate a report of shooting in the area. Another detective was seriously wounded by the same girl.⁴³ In front of the Carnegie Library a young Negro boy was knocked off his bicycle by a mob of whites. Cries of "Lynch him!" and "Who's got the rope?" were heard but police rescued him before the threats could be carried out.⁴⁴

Towards midnight, some of the Negroes organized and assigned bands of raiders to automobiles stocked with guns

³⁹ *Washington Times*, July 22, 1919; *Evening Star* (Washington), July 21, 1919.

⁴⁰ *Washington Post*, July 22, 1919. The Marine died two days later. *Ibid.*, July 24, 1919.

⁴¹ *The World* (New York), July 22, 1919.

⁴² *Washington Post*, July 22, 1919.

⁴³ *New York Times*, July 22, 1919. *Evening Star* (Washington), July 22, 1919. For quite different accounts of this incident, see *New York Age*, July 26, 1919, and a pamphlet by Edgar M. Grey, *The Washington Riot: Its Cause and Effect* (New York: By the Author, n. d.), p. 2.

⁴⁴ *New York Times*, July 22, 1919.

and ammunition. About 1:30 A.M., one of these cars—manned by two Negro men and three women—sped through the streets of Washington firing at every white person they saw. They wounded a policeman, a soldier and several other people before the driver was killed and the car captured. Sporadic attacks by Negroes continued throughout most of the night. By morning the toll included four dead, one dying, five seriously wounded, forty-one admitted to the Emergency Hospital, and dozens less seriously injured.⁴⁵

Many illegally armed Negroes were brought into police headquarters during the night. On Tuesday's court docket there were more than fifty charges of carrying concealed weapons and twice as many charges of disorderly conduct.⁴⁶ During the day sixty-five persons, most of whom were Negroes, were convicted of disorderly conduct and fined twenty-five dollars or sentenced to twenty-five days in jail.⁴⁷

Congress took its first official cognizance of the breakdown of law and order in Washington on Tuesday. Three measures were introduced in the House of Representatives to deal with the emergency but they offered no immediate relief.⁴⁸ Of more importance were the actions of the executive branch. After a conference with President Wilson on Tuesday afternoon, the Secretary of War announced that Major William G. Hahn, head of the War Plans Division of the General Staff, had been designated commander of a special guard of soldiers, sailors, and Marines detailed to assist Washington police.⁴⁹ By night-fall, more than a thousand troops had been brought into the city from Camp Meade, Quantico, and several ships anchored in the Potomac. Armed with pistols and machine guns, one-third of the troops patrolled the streets with the police while the others remained on duty in the police stations to handle emergency calls.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*; *Washington Post*, July 22, 1919.

⁴⁶ *Evening Star* (Washington), July 22, 1919.

⁴⁷ *Washington Post*, July, 23, 1919.

⁴⁸ Rep. Clark (Florida) asked for an investigation into the prevalence of crime in Washington. Reps. Vaile (Colorado) and Emerson (Ohio) called for the establishment of martial law by the President. Rep. Hill (New York) asked for a restriction on the sale of firearms in the District, *The World* (New York), July 23, 1919.

⁴⁹ *Washington Herald*, July 24, 1919.

⁵⁰ *Washington Post*, July 23, 1919.

Small groups of whites and blacks clashed in the northwestern part of the city during the day but there was no general disturbance until after nightfall. When darkness came there were noticeably fewer Negroes on the streets than on previous nights. Evidently they had followed the advice of policemen who had circulated through the Negro sections during the afternoon advising Negroes to keep off the streets. Nevertheless, observers reported that throughout the city there was the same sense of suppressed excitement and tension which had existed on Sunday and Monday nights. One reporter, who visited the Negro section on Tuesday night, said that the Negroes were obsessed with fear and dread lest "a new East St. Louis" was at hand. But, even though they were frightened—the reporter noted—they were also determined to barricade themselves in their homes and fight back should a mob come.⁵¹

Shortly after ten o'clock, two white Home Guard officers approached a Negro at Ninth and M Streets ostensibly to question him. The Negro drew a revolver, shot and killed one officer and gravely wounded his companion. Before a crowd could gather the assailant had escaped.⁵² Another incident occurred on L Street when two Negroes leaped from a buggy and attacked a white youth who managed to escape without serious injury. In mid-town, a large group of whites (estimated at more than 2,000) gathered and started towards the Negro section, but before they could reach their objective they were dispersed by mounted troops and a heavy downpour of rain. The rain continued sporadically throughout the night and greatly assisted the police in breaking up other attempts to form mobs.⁵³ Small scattered clashes and many false alarms from nervous citizens kept the police occupied but by midnight the situation appeared to be under control. Only one Negro was admitted to the Emergency Hospital during the night.

⁵¹ "The Washington Riots," *The Nation* (August 9, 1919), 173. In the riot at East St. Louis, Illinois, in 1917 at least thirty-nine Negroes and eight white people were killed outright and hundreds of Negroes were wounded or maimed. See U. S., House of Representatives, *Riot at East St. Louis, Report of the Special Committee Authorized by Congress to Investigate the East St. Louis Riots*, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1918, House Doc. 1231.

⁵² *Washington Post*, July 23, 1919.

⁵³ *Evening Star* (Washington), July 23, 1919.

The next day billiard rooms, movie houses, and near-beer saloons in the districts where most of the rioting had occurred were closed. A few isolated incidents took place later in the week but the presence of a large number of troops and the consistent vigilance of the police discouraged any further attempts at serious rioting. After four days, the riot had been successfully put down but not until six people had been killed and a large number injured.

IV

It seems clear that the precipitating cause of the Washington riot was the "attack" upon the white woman on July 18. But it is equally as obvious that this incident would not have set off the riot had not conditions in Washington been ripe for it. The lack of restraint in reporting Negro crime exhibited by the Washington press; the background of Negro-white friction which prepared the whites to believe the worst about the Negroes and to condone efforts to "put the Negro in his place"; and the presence of a large group of irresponsible young men, susceptible to rumor and prone to rash action, who confused all Negroes with criminals; these were the principal causes leading to the outbreak of violence. However, despite the guilt of white people in initiating the riot, the extent and seriousness of the disorder must be attributed to another source. Until the third day—when the Negroes began fighting back—violence had been restricted to the fist-and-club stage and no one had been killed. It seems safe to say that probably no would have been killed, the riot would have ended sooner, and it would have gone down as a minor affray had the Negroes not resisted the whites.

Even though the violence was deplorable it cannot be denied, however, that Washington Negroes were justified in making the riot a bilateral "war." They were attacked and were convinced, by the events leading up to the attacks and the failure of the Washington police to stop them, that they had no defense but themselves. The one great failure of the police was that they did not have the confidence of the colored people and did not make any pronounced effort to assure them of security either before or during the riot. However, the

significance of the Washington riot is not that the Negro was left to his own defenses but that he did not run away and hide as he had on previous occasions; for the first time he fought back at his persecutors.

While many of the Negro attackers were of the vagrant element—"poolroom hangers-on and men from the alleys and side streets"—the attitude of "fighting back" was widespread among Negroes in Washington.⁵⁴ "During the riot," stated one Washington Negro, "I went home when through with my work and stayed there, but I prepared to protect my home. I am as law-abiding as anybody, but I believe I must protect my home and myself when necessary. If a Negro had nothing but a fire poker when set upon, he should use it to protect his home. I believe all the men in my block felt the same way."⁵⁵ Another Negro said: "We are tired of being picked on and being beat up. We have been through war and gave everything, even our lives, and now we are going to stop being beat up."⁵⁶ The *Washington Bee* summed up the general attitude by saying, "The black man is loyal to his country and to his flag, and when his country fails to protect him, he means to protect himself."⁵⁷

These statements and the actions of Washington Negroes suggest that their attitude was more than a local phenomenon and that it fundamentally reflected the profound impact of the war experience on Negroes in general. Washington Negroes along with their brothers and sisters throughout the country played a significant role in the total war effort. They served in the armed forces, many saw combat, and some died in battle. Those sent overseas discovered social equality for the first time among the French, an experience they did not soon forget. At home, Negroes purchased Liberty Bonds, contributed to the Red Cross, saved food, and generally worked as heartily as white people to bring an end to the conflict.⁵⁸ The men found better grades of employment; some worked at wage-earning jobs for the first time. Many women came out of the

⁵⁴ *New York Age*, August 2, 1919.

⁵⁵ Quoted in George E. Haynes, "What Negroes Think of the Race Riots," *The Public* (August 9, 1919), 848.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ August 2, 1919.

⁵⁸ See Emmett J. Scott, *The American Negro in the World War* (Washing-

kitchens of the whites and found better pay, shorter hours, and less menial work in jobs as elevator operators and office cleaning women.⁵⁹ Negroes had more money, they dressed better, they took more pride in themselves and began doing some thinking and speaking for themselves.⁶⁰

Encouraged by the idealistic goals of the war effort, Negroes had hopes for a better future for themselves. In fact, in many ways by many people—government officials, race leaders, and newspaper editors—they were promised a new era. In an interview with a Negro leader in March, 1919, President Wilson said:

I have always known that the Negro has been unjustly and unfairly dealt with. Your people have exhibited a degree of loyalty and patriotism that should command the admiration of the whole nation. In the present conflict your race has rallied to the nation's call, and if there has been any evidence of slackerism by Negroes, the same has not reached Washington. Great principles of righteousness are won by slow degrees. With thousands of your sons in the camps in France, out of this conflict you must expect nothing but full citizenship rights—the same as are enjoyed by all other citizens.⁶¹

The Negro emerged from the war experience with a new conception of himself and his relation to democracy. "Out of this war," wrote the editor of the *Washington Bee* on April 26, 1919, "the Negro expects—he demands—justice, and can not and will not be content with less . . . Our men were not afraid to die, even when three thousand miles from home, and they will not be afraid to die for democracy here at home if it is much longer refused them." The race war in Washington was an open declaration of the Negro's new attitude. No longer would he submit to being chased and beaten without a vigorous protest. It was also a warning of what was to be expected and what was to come in the racial affrays that followed in 1919.

ton, 1919); George E. Haynes, "Race Riots in Relation to Democracy," *Survey* (August 9, 1919), 698.

⁵⁹ George E. Haynes, *The Negro at Work During the World War and During Reconstruction* (Washington, 1921); *New York Times*, March 16, 1919.

⁶⁰ Frank, *Century*, XCIX, 90.

⁶¹ Quoted in J. G. Robinson, *Why I Am an Exile* (n.p., n.d.), p. 3, copy in Schomberg collection of New York Public Library.

THE STATE AND DISSENTERS IN THE REVOLUTION

By THOMAS O'BRIEN HANLEY, S. J.

IT would be an oversimplification to say that there was merely the appearance of conscience as Americans revolted against the mother country. Their appeal to natural right has been ascribed to rationalization of unrighteous conduct. Yet the continual preoccupation of important Americans with the rightness or wrongness of their actions at the various stages of the Revolution shows that conscience was prompting. Sincerity is not easily tested. Rather than decide this matter, it is better to continue with the reconstruction of the complexity of the human situation which was the American Revolution in its moral dimension. There are some smaller, more manageable aspects of this larger question worth pursuing.

The current state of scholarship points to one clear area where conscience was very much alive during the Revolution. Such pacifists as the Quakers provide the more striking instances. Others had a much more complex adjustment of principles to make. There were pacifists among Methodists, but in addition they were of a church united with the English state. Not merely the rightness or wrongness of war, then, but the guilt or innocence involved in severance of that state and its church. In this latter dilemma was found the distress of other members of the Church of England, in addition to Methodists.

Whether the majority of Marylanders, who were Anglicans, were deeply distressed in conscience over this exact point is not certain. The political feature of Toryism probably played a more important role in the decision of the average opponent of the Revolution. Among the clergy, however, the religious and moral distress was most pronounced, and it is their writings and actions which dramatize the struggles of conscience.

All of this is not to say that those who found no problem in accepting the Revolution were bereft of social conscience.

Writings of their clergy show they were conscientious. Presbyterian and Roman Catholic morality of war and politics provided immediate justification of the Revolution. Theory regarding the nature of the church stood in the way of neither. But the conscience of the Revolution does not stand so significantly revealed here as in the religious dissenters or the doubtful.

While the State had made its own decision, how did it deal with those who had not or who had dissented for religious reasons? Was security of state used conscientiously as a consideration in dealing with the open dissenter? The action of the state in these matters would deeply affect the freedom with which men in good conscience took up or rejected the cause of Revolution. The action of the state could thus create an amoral social movement and to that extent an inhuman one.

There is evidence indeed that many were deprived of their civil liberties during the American Revolution. Maryland had its own instances. A closer examination, however, will bring out the other side of this picture. The state is found possessed of a reasonable delicacy of conscience in dealing with religious doubters and the dissenters. The conscience of the Revolution then is under scrutiny insofar as the new state is the agent of the Revolution.

Those responsible for law and order had a most complex task in assuring the rights of conscientious dissenters. It was for them, as William Eddis put it, "to stem the torrent excited by factious artifices." At the other extreme were those who would use religion's privileges for Tory purposes. Even those who innocently followed their own lights might through imprudence jeopardize the safety of the state at war with England. Yet the Tory Eddis put his hope in "many respectable characters," with whom this difficult business rested. "Considering the complexion of the times," he concluded optimistically, "their proceedings have been regular and moderate."¹

Maryland governmental records make it clear that the state understood its difficult position. In Article 4 of the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention, members had to state the major assumption of any revolutionary government, con-

¹ William Eddis, *Letters from America, Historical and Descriptive; Comprising Occurrences from 1769 to 1777, Inclusive* (London, 1792), pp. 210-12.

trary as it was to the religious views of many dissenters: "The doctrine of non-resistance against arbitrary power and oppression, is absurd, slavish, and destructive of the good and happiness of mankind."² The Constitution, however, generously sought to protect clergymen and religious dissenters.³ They could not in conscience accept this statement which satisfied the conscience of the state. In view of the strong position taken by the state, self-discipline was required in interpreting the cases of clergy and dissenters, if the state would be conscientious.

The Council and various officials found these duties extremely difficult. General William Smallwood experienced the military official's problem. He found many on the Eastern Shore of Maryland who pleaded that religion and not politics led them to be disaffected toward the Maryland revolutionary government. They thus felt obliged to aid the British. "Tho[ugh] there are some exceptions," Smallwood explained in one report, "wherein Ignorant men from their Religious Attachments have been deluded (those are readily distinguished & to be pittied) yet by far the greater number conceal their true motives, & make Religion a Cloak for their nefarious designs."⁴ William Paca, the same year and in the same area, told of two clergymen who exemplified Smallwood's contention. His patience was tried in dealing with them. "If in the Heat of Zeal," he wrote to Governor Thomas Johnson, "I may advise any Extremity out of the straight Line of the Law for [of] our Constitution I hope I shall be excused: as to Extremities from necessity they will need no Apology or Justification."⁵

The Assembly earnestly tried to deal with these difficult situations while safeguarding freedom. For only in this way would the conscience of the Revolution be truly free. As early

² Maryland, *Proceedings of the Convention of the Province of Maryland, Held at Annapolis, in 1774, 1775, & 1776* (Annapolis, 1836), p. 297 (hereafter *Proceedings of the Convention*).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 375; November 11, 1776. One Nathan Perigo, for example, was said to be pretending to be a clergyman in order to avoid paying a substitute tax for military service.

⁴ March 14, 1777, Snow Hill; William H. Browne, *et al.* (eds.), *Archives of Maryland* (68 vols.; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-), XVI, 176.

⁵ August 25, 1777, Cecil Court House; *Arch. of Md.*, XVI, 345. Paca described one Methodist preacher, John Patterson, as the "most provoking [...] exasperating mortal that ever existed" (pp. 364-65).

as 1775 the right of religious dissenters was established. The Maryland lawmakers stated that the citizen had an obligation to defend his country and to bear arms. "Clergymen of all denominations," they hastened to add, "and such persons who from their religious principles cannot bear arms in any case [are] excepted. . . ." ⁶ During the war period, records of the state government show many instances where higher officials sent directives to lower ones, restraining them from action against dissenters. Often lower officials would refer the more difficult cases of conscientious objectors to their superiors. ⁷

Minutes of the Kent Monthly Meeting of Quakers gave evidence of the Assembly's success with laws which favored the free exercise of conscience. The period following 1776 does not reveal many instances where Quakers were refused the benefit of those laws which protected pacifists. ⁸ Their practice of actively encouraging others to pacifism could often have passed for obstruction of national defense. Officials reported little difficulty in this respect. Many Quakers refused to pay for substitutes in the militia as the law sometimes required. But nearly a year passed before the minutes make mention of any trouble from the state government over such matters. ⁹ Confiscations were often made by the state governments when Quakers failed to pay for substitutes in the militia. The Quaker fund in Maryland to help those so penalized was not drawn on very heavily, which indicates the mild effect of the law there. ¹⁰ All of these observations are drawn from the Eastern Shore, where the government would incline to be stricter in view of the greater danger there of collaboration with the English. Treatment must have been more lenient on the Western Shore where there was less danger.

Methodists, who had pacifists among them, had experiences with the Maryland Government similar to those of Quakers. The distinguished Thomas Coke, and other Methodist preachers, in some of their writings might tend to give a contrary

⁶ Proceedings of the Convention, pp. 19-20. See also *ibid.*, p. 74, where a year later this provision was reiterated, widened, and special place given to the Royal Governor Eden and his household.

⁷ See, for example, the *Proceedings of the Council of Safety*, March 1, 1777 and March 13, 1778, *Arch. of Md.*, XVI, 156 and 535.

⁸ December 10, 1777, Minutes (Transcripts, Md. Hist. Soc.).

⁹ *Ibid.*, October 8, 1777.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, August 10, 1785.

impression.¹¹ In context their remarks do not add up to a case of intolerance against the state government. Such writers did not distinguish among the Methodist sufferers whom they record. Rank Torism and open sedition, particularly in the circumstances of Clowe's Rebellion alter cases.¹²

Francis Asbury, who was to be the first Methodist bishop in America, witnessed in his own career during the Revolution the determination of the state to give protection to citizens so that they might freely adjust their consciences. His journal describes an instance of minor annoyance and obstruction. He tells how the local state official stood by ready to intervene with the instigators had they continued troubling Asbury.¹³ In the early years of the War he once entered Annapolis with distrust, though Maryland assemblymen had encouraged him by assuring him of a place to preach. "Contrary to my expectations," Asbury later wrote, "I preached in the church. . . ." ¹⁴ At Frederick, a few months before the surrender at Yorktown, he preached at the court house without incident. Attendance at his preaching during these difficult times was generally good. Methodists grew remarkably in numbers during the Revolutionary Period. This indicates that external mobility as well as internal freedom in conscience was considerable for the times.¹⁵

Freeborn Garrettson, another Methodist preacher, tested how conscientious the state was in respecting personal freedom during the War. He had been a companion of Martin Rodda, something of a Tory preacher, which made Garrettson suspect with some. There was also a natural tendency to be impatient with pacifists such as Garrettson in those times. "Brother Garrettson will let no person escape a religious lecture that comes in his way," Francis Asbury had said of him.¹⁶

¹¹ *Extracts from the Journals of the Rev. Dr. Coke's Five Visits to America* (London, 1793), December 5, 1784, entry.

¹² *Arch. of Md.*, XVI, 535 ff.

¹³ Elmer T. Clark *et al.* (eds.), *The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury* (3 vols.; Nashville, 1958), I, 154 (April 20, 1775) and 473 (December 12, 1784).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 241; June 27, 1777.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 430 (July 21, 1782) and p. 155 (April 29, 1775). Previous mention has been made of Asbury's sympathy with the American cause and how knowledge of this was withheld from state officials and the public in general. The active hostility of Wesley toward the Revolution could not but be identified with Asbury, which accounted for the ill regard in which he was held until the interception of his letter containing patriotic sentiments.

His fervor made him a typical Methodist preacher but the intensity noted by Asbury would also make him more trying to reluctant hearers of his words. Others would have fared better from the tolerance of people. Finally, there was hardly a more widely travelled itinerant preacher in Maryland than he. Garrettson thus provides a very reliable test for the whole state.

One of the most brutal and unjust attacks on Garrettson was dramatically stopped by the intervention of a magistrate in Kent County. When soldiers began to treat him roughly, a bystander provided a horse which carried him to the local magistrate. "I told him," Garrettson later wrote, "I was determined to Preach if I went to the stake[.] God had Called me, and a man should not stop me, I was determined to regard God rather than man. At that he became very friendly."¹⁷

A year later at Salisbury a military officer protected him against those who demanded that he take the oath.¹⁸ Garrettson did not oppose the cause of independence, but the oath to him implied the obligation to bear arms. Strangers would not easily understand his position. Yet, on one occasion in Dorset County when a magistrate puzzled over Garrettson's view of the oath, the sheriff and a gathering of people urged that Garrettson be allowed to go his way. "It is a pity to stop you," they said in tribute to his zeal for preaching and respect for personal freedom.¹⁹ A magistrate once intervened in favor of Garrettson's friend in Salisbury and an officer disciplined some soldiers who were threatening Garrettson himself.²⁰ In these and many other instances in Methodist journals, civil officials were described as effectively restraining certain radical elements of the Revolution, which threatened indiscriminately to penalize dissenters.

Considering that Garrettson lacked adequate prudence in manifesting his dissent, Marylanders must be credited with

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 348; May 5, 1780.

¹⁷ Freeborn Garrettson, *Journal*, June 30, 1778 (Drew Univ. Library, Madison, N.J.).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, February 28, 1779.

¹⁹ Freeborn Garrettson, *The Experiences and Travels of the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson, Minister of the Methodist-Episcopal Church in North-America* (Philadelphia, 1791), pp. 233-236; July 20, 1779 (hereafter *Experiences and Travels*). This is a polished and, in places, an abridged version of the above-mentioned *Journal* of Garrettson.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 147 (February 25, 1780) and p. 144 (February 14, 1780).

considerable forbearance. He was not content simply to refuse military service and pay the fee for a substitute. "I was determined," he himself stated, "I never would never join the multitude to serve the devil."²¹ Such strong pacifist statements could not escape open expression nor fail to arouse antagonism in revolutionaries who heard them. It is not surprising that he had to be rescued by officials as happened at Salisbury.²² The public at large, however, tended to show sympathy for one in Garrettson's position. When a man tried to prevent Garrettson from going to another station of his circuit, a crowd disarmed him. At the height of the War one of these obstructors of his preaching came to him afterwards and apologized.²³

Garrettson began to preach on Maryland circuits during the unsettled and controversial days preceding the outbreak of the War. Yet as time went on through the War years he found that he was better treated. "God had . . . opened the eyes of one of the magistrates," he wrote of one instance of changed attitudes, "so far (although before he was a persecutor) that he took my part. . . ." ²⁴ In time he noted that his "enemies begin to be at peace." He cited instances on the Eastern Shore, and Somerset County in particular, as places where he found improvement.²⁵

Garrettson, like Asbury, made certain statements which seem to imply that the personal liberality of Marylanders rather than their recently passed laws accounted for his protection. His writings taken together do not substantiate this implication, nor do the situations which he described. His comparison of Maryland with Delaware is also misleading in this respect. "I could claim a right in the Delaware state," he once said "which state was more favorable to such *pestilent* fellows [*as himself*]." ²⁶ Yet the crowd in Delaware on occasion abused him as it did in Maryland.²⁷

The thought behind Garrettson's statements seem to stem

²¹ Garrettson, Journal, Book I, p. 22.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

²³ *Ibid.*, April 22, and June 6, 1779.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, June 14, 1779.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, March 28, April 10, and May 5, 1779.

²⁶ Garrettson, *Experiences and Travels*, p. 155. Underlining is in original.

²⁷ Garrettson, Journal, pp. 128-29; September 12, 1778.

from his understanding of the Delaware oath and his misreading of the Maryland oath. The former in itself seems to exempt one from bearing arms for conscience. The latter did not, but relied on specific laws which exempted dissenters from the oath and bearing arms. Moreover, Maryland honored the Delaware oath as satisfying for its own requirement, a benefit of which Garrettson actually availed himself.

It is important to note that Garrettson clearly stated that his mobility and his position as a preacher was clearly favored by the law of Maryland. He called attention to this when he complained of the way he was restricted in Virginia. He expressed implicit preference for Maryland's legal settlement.²⁸ The fee for a substitute in military service proved satisfactory to him. He referred to his Maryland birth and property whenever he wanted a legal basis of protection. In the presence of military men and the people in general he made it clear, like St. Paul, that he was a citizen and entitled to the protection of the law. "If they laid a hand on me," an official told the crowd on one occasion, according to Garrettson, "he would put the law in force against them. They withdrew to their homes, without making the slightest [*sic*] attempt on me."²⁹

All of these concrete instances tell us a great deal of the fact of the state's conscience. The cast of mind of the state as agent of the Revolution has a moral element. This says more than that the Revolution tended to be conservative in Maryland. Those leaders who were first to come out for independence, and who have been for this reason called radical, were identified with the conscientious manner of dealing with dissenters just as those moderates were who were slow to declare. A greater study of the manner of conducting the Revolution will ultimately throw light upon that act of conscience which in the first moments initiated it. The collective conscience is the same in both instances.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, July 6, 1777; see Robert D. Simpson, "Freeborn Garrettson, American Methodist Pioneer" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation; Drew University, 1955), p. 57.

²⁹ Garrettson, *Experiences and Travels*, pp. 122-125; see Simpson, *ibid.*, on militia fee.

THE VALUE OF PERSONAL ESTATES IN MARYLAND, 1700-1710

By ROBERT G. SCHONFELD and SPENCER WILSON

THE historian of the Colonial period of American history is often confronted with a scarcity of primary sources from which he can reconstruct and interpret our colonial background. Fortunately, for the student wishing to study the Eighteenth century, a very large and rich collection of materials survive and are available for research. The Prerogative Court records, specifically the Inventory and Account Books (Libers), as a valuable source for the historian, provide information for a detailed analysis of the economic structure of colonial Maryland society.¹

The Inventory Books are composed of carefully compiled lists of the personal effects, furniture, clothing, and all the bric-a-brac found within the house or houses of the deceased. Within a short time after the death of a citizen, "late deceased of this county," two court appointed fellow-citizens were charged with taking a "true and perfect" inventory of the "goods, chattels, and possessions" of the dead citizen. This they did in a very conscientious manner, literally down to the smallest "piece of cloth." In no case was there a blanket amount attached by these agents to the furnishings of the house; they always enumerated every item as a separate entry in the inventory. All items of personalty were carefully listed in the Inventory and then appraised. This appraisal was carried out with equally meticulous care, whether the particular object was worth only a half cent or many pounds. The Inventory was then totaled, in pounds-sterling, and submitted to the Court as a true estimate of the value of a particular estate.

¹ Prerogative Court Records, Inventories and Accounts, Libers 20-32A, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland. Hereinafter referred to as: I & A, followed by the appropriate Liber and page numbers.

The Inventories, then, included personal property. Real property was wholly excluded.

Equal care was evident in the auditing of the Inventories at the final accounting in order to satisfy creditors and to comply with the terms of the will, if there was one. This accounting was handled by two other court-appointed citizens, one very often being the surviving mate of the deceased while the other was sometimes a newly acquired husband or wife. Whether related or not, these executors were responsible for the paying of any debts, collection of money owed to the estate, and the distribution of any remainder in accordance with the terms of the will. Naturally a former mate was most anxious to reach a quick settlement if it was to the survivor's advantage.

Only too often the final accounting, a process which could take a period of years, turned out to the disadvantage of the survivors. Then as today, men with very large assets died at the height of their most active years. As a result the bulk of a man's estate, if indeed not all of it, was absorbed by outstanding indebtedness. Regardless of the pecuniary outcome of the accounting, however, the final report of the executors was submitted to the court and marked the final closing of the books.

These processes, of Inventory and of Account, produce two sets of figures. The figure derived from the Inventory represents the total assets (real property excluded) of the deceased. A second figure, derived from the Account, represents the total indebtedness against the estate. Each figure tells an important story. From these still a third may be derived, by simple subtraction, showing the NET worth of the deceased's estate.

Since the economy of Maryland was based upon tobacco as the colony's main export, it was the principal source of income. The business system centered around the production, curing, and shipping of the leaf to markets in England. The crop was planted sometime in April and harvested in September. The leaves were then stored for curing, a process which took the rest of the winter. Due to the nature of the plant, it was necessary to ship after the process of curing was completed, usually the following summer. As a result the Mary-

land planter was often competing against his fellow planters in trying to ship his crop to England first. Moreover, especially during the recurrent wars of the times, the wars of the League of Augsburg and Spanish Succession, during the twenty years to 1710, he was completely at the mercy of the arrival and departure of the tobacco "fleet." That "fleet" was escorted by English war-ships to Maryland early in the fall; it wintered in Chesapeake Bay, and sailed with tobacco for British markets by the following August. With each sailing of the ships went the future profits of every Maryland planter and any colonist whose living was related to the tobacco crop.

This basic role of tobacco was reflected in some of the smaller estates for they were more often reckoned in pounds of tobacco rather than in money equivalents. This was done for the sake of convenience. For example, the estate of Thomas Mason of Talbot county was stated to be worth 6,835 pounds of tobacco, about £26 sterling.²

Because of an imbalance of trade and a concomitant drain of currency to England, the colonists were forced to rely upon substitutes for coinage. They devised "tobacco money" which was crude but effective for the local economy. On the colonial market one pound of tobacco brought three pounds of beef; two pounds of tobacco could be exchanged for a fat pullet, and a hogshead had buying power enough to supply a whole family with necessities for a year.³ One observer noted that "tobacco is their [*Maryland's*] meat, drink, clothing and money. . . ." ⁴ Another reported, "Tobacco is the current coyn of Mary-land, and will sooner purchase commodities from the merchant than money." ⁵ Either way, in sterling or tobacco, the Prerogative Court records were kept as an accurate record of the value of a colonist's personal belongings.

² I & A, 20, p. 42.

³ "Four hogsheads of 950 pounds were considered a ton for London shipment." James T. Adams, ed., *Dictionary of American History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940), V, 276. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), II, 47-48.

⁴ Clarence P. Gould, *Money and Transportation in Maryland 1720-1765* (Baltimore, 1915), p. 49.

⁵ A letter written by John Pory, Secretary of Virginia, concerning tobacco in the neighboring colony of Maryland, found in Ina Faye Woestemeyer and Charles L. Van Nappen, *The South, A Documentary History* (Princeton, 1958), pp. 60-61.

The following tables demonstrate five conclusions which were extracted from the statistics contained in the Court inventories and accounts. The first set of tables, numbers I and II, depict the actual size of the estates. Table II is a partial break-down of a segment of the first. Table III presents the indebtedness against those estates reported, while tables IV and V give a regional picture of the sizes of personal holdings. Lastly, the inventories contain records reflecting the amount of human bondage in the colony for this period.

Table I shows the total number of estates in relation to the estimated value of the inventories, from the poorest colonist to the wealthiest. For example, the estate of Charles Mackory of Dorchester county amounted to 4 shillings 6 pence. On the other hand, that of Thomas Homewood of Anne Arundel totaled £1263 14s 10d.⁶

Table I

The Value of Personal Estates 1700 - 1710

Value in pounds-sterling	Number of estates
0-499	3236
500-999	117
1000-1499	21
1500-1999	11
2000-2499	7
2500-2999	2
3000-3499	1
3500-3999	2
4000-4499	4
4500-4999	1

Because of the preponderance of cases contained in the lowest bracket, that of zero to four hundred and ninety-nine, that particular category was broken down further as seen in Table II.

Probably the most significant deduction from this further distillation of the inventory figures is seen in the very sharp drop between the £49 and the £50 mark. This point appears to

⁶ I & A, 30, pp. 286-292. I & A, 24, p. 199.

establish a division line for separating the average citizens from the more well-to-do members of the community.⁷

Table II

The Value of Personal Estates, below £499

Value in pounds-sterling	Number of estates
0-49	1512
50-99	647
100-149	290
150-199	157
200-249	114
250-299	74
300-349	76
350-399	35
400-449	45
450-499	27

The amount of indebtedness contracted by the colonists named in the Accounts for the years 1700 through 1710 are reflected in Table III.

A business man of colonial Maryland was subjected to many of the same hardships as his counter-part at any time or place. The tobacco planters often found themselves the victims of shrewd London merchants and a fluctuating market. Maryland planters sold their crop to London agents and received credit on the sale. These agents, in turn, used this credit to fill orders from the planters for supplies, equipment, and luxuries for the ensuing year. If the market value of the crop fell below the expected levels, then the planter was in debt to the agent for the difference, which the colonist hoped to make up on succeeding crops. Planters were also guilty of over-extending themselves in land speculation, slave purchases, poor management, and the like, all of which contributed to their financial troubles. These same conditions were also responsible for indebtedness among the non-planter members of the colony.

The size of a personal estate as reflected in the Inventory

⁷ A man received the franchise when his estate amounted to between £40 and £50. Marcus W. Jernegan, *The American Colonies 1492-1750* (New York, 1943), pp. 396-397.

was only a relative indication of the wealth of the colonist. Beyond that was the matter of a final audit, the Account Books, which showed the real worth of each estate. Approximately twenty per cent of the total value of all the inventories considered in this period was claimed by outstanding debts.

Table III

Amount of debt (£)	Number of estates
0-49	850
50-99	200
100-149	65
150-199	40
200-249	20
250-299	10
300-349	6
350-399	5
400-449	2
450-499	4
500-549	2
550-599	2
600-649	1
650-699	4
700-749	1
750-799	2
800-849	
850-899	1
900-949	
950-999	2
1000-1049	1
1050-1099	
1200-1249	3
1450-1499	1
1600-1649	2

The estates of both rich and poor were subject to the demands of creditors. A considerable number of the wealthier men died leaving obligations which greatly reduced or even obliterated their fortunes. In Calvert county George Parker's personal effects were valued at £902, a substantial amount. When the last claim was settled, however, his estate was in debt to a

total of £998 leaving his heirs with a paltry £6!⁸ Justin Bennett of Talbot county died leaving an estate inventoried at £266 13s 7d. The total debt was £371 5s 5d, which presented his heirs with unpaid obligations amounting to £104 11s 10d.⁹ Finally, Robert Lucille, Esquire, of Queen Anne's county, passed away with outstanding debts of £1613 00s 3d and with no means for payment provided.¹⁰ Still, with this in mind, Maryland's colonists were apparently prospering during the first decade of the 18th century. Since 1683 the tobacco trade had experienced a remarkable growth and Maryland planters expected this to continue despite the outbreak of war in 1701. This very high level of indebtedness would seem to argue for optimism among the colonial businessmen even in the face of wartime confusion.¹¹

These same records also contained enough information for a regional picture of the estates considered. In both the Inventories and the Accounts, the names and places of residence were usually recorded as a part of the whole process. It was possible, therefore, to arrange the figures to show the relative wealth of all the counties and to further compare the counties on a regional basis. In Table IV the various counties of the Eastern Shore and Western Shore have been arranged under their respective geographical areas. The number of the estates for each major financial group were then placed opposite the proper county. The category "unknown" simply refers to those records for which there was no county listed. Anne Arundel county indicated the most wealth. While on the Eastern shore Talbot county showed the largest total value in estates inventoried.¹² Both regions, Eastern and Western shore, were nearly equal in development for the ten year period under study. In round figures, the size of the personal estates approached £237,000 respectively for both sections of the colony. As for the less fortunate areas, the newer settled colony of Prince George's on the West and Dorchester on the East vied for the

⁸ I & A, 20, pp. 259-260.

⁹ I & A, 25, p. 147.

¹⁰ I & A, 31, pp. 71-75.

¹¹ Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *The Shaping of Colonial Virginia: The Planters of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1958), pp. 115-124.

¹² There were 3402 estates in the period 1700-1710. Their aggregate total was approximately £475,000 sterling.

Table IV

Sizes of Personal Estates by Counties in Pounds-Sterling

County	0-	500-	1000-	1500-	2000-	2500-	4000-	4500
Eastern Shore	499	999	1499	1999	2499	2999	4499	4999
Cecil	141	4	3					1
Kent	195	9	1	1				
Qn. Anne's .	81	9	2					
Talbot	435	11	1	1			1	1
Dorchester ..	199	2	1					
Somerset ...	202	2		1				

County	0-	500-	1000-	1500-	2000-	2500-	4000-	4500-
Western Shore	499	999	1499	1999	2499	2999	4499	4999
St. Mary's....	274	7	3					
Charles	237	6			1			
Calvert	265	21	3	4				
Anne Arundel	299	23	6	3	3	1		1
Pr. George's	125	1	1	2		1		
Baltimore ...	224	10						
Unknown ...	317	11	4	3			1	1

Table V

County	0-	50-	100-	150-	200-	250-	300-	350-	400-	450-
Eastern Shore	49	99	149	199	249	299	349	399	449	499
Cecil	73	42	9	2	4	5	1	3	2	1
Kent	77	44	31	18	15	4	6	3		
Qn. Anne's	42	18	8	7	2	4	2	1	1	1
Talbot ..	198	99	60	25	19	12	16	6	4	4
Dorchester	127	33	16	6	8	2	3		1	1
Somerset.	130	37	14	8	4	2	4	2	3	3

County	0-	50-	100-	150-	200-	250-	300-	350-	400-	450-
West. Shore .	49	99	149	199	249	299	349	399	449	499
St. Mary's.	150	56	19	14	16	3	9	2	5	5
Charles ..	116	55	22	12	9	8	4		2	2
Calvert ..	127	51	22	17	14	12	6	8	5	5
A. Arundel	129	55	31	19	12	17	11	4	9	9
Pr. George's	40	31	21	11	9	2	2		1	1
Baltimore	117	55	21	11	2	3	7		11	3
Unknown	197	72	13	7	10	3	9	4	4	2

lowest position on the scale. The latter county was on the bottom of the entire colony.

Because of the large number of estates which fell into the poorest class, that group was broken down in Table V. This was done to coincide with a similar analysis in Table II.

One further fact emerged from the statistics of the Court records. That is, there was no appreciable alteration in the sizes of the personal estates during the ten year period. The inventories of 1700 were comparable with the inventories of a decade later.

Up to this point the Inventory and Account records provided the necessary data for a picture of the apparent monetary accumulation of those colonists who died during the period 1700-1710. The records were detailed enough to furnish a tabulation of the sizes of personal estates on colony-wide, regional, and county levels. The figures presented speak for themselves insofar as they go. It was also apparent from the investigation of the Inventory lists that a further piece of information, which seems to be intimately connected with personal holdings, should be mentioned in regard to this study. That was in the ownership of Negro slaves and indentured servants.

This second indication of affluence became obvious in the reading of the Inventory lists. The well-to-do man in 1700 Maryland must have pointed to his ownership of Negro slaves and of indentured servants as a symbol of his well-being. Men of moderate means did own indentured servants, but the larger estates were more often represented by the number of Negroes owned by the deceased. As was stated above, the figure of fifty pounds-sterling appeared from the Inventories as a division point for separating the average citizen from his wealthier counterpart.

Inventory lists carried the numbers of slaves, mulatto and Negro, indentured servants, and Indians. The men who took these inventories were also careful to provide as much information as possible in the space of one line concerning the age, health, name, and price of all servants. Inventories of indentured servants also indicated the period for which the particular person was still held to his or her indenture, for it was

upon this point that the price of the servant was fixed. Sex, age, and health were also taken into account.

Negro slavery was certainly an important segment of the local economic picture. For the decade under study there were a total of 1662 Negro slaves listed in the estates. This figure and the high prices, as seen in the Inventories, indicate the financial importance of that institution. The price of a good field hand ranged from £28 to £30. A Negro woman brought £25, while a combination of one man and one woman was valued at £60 for the pair. It has been noted that the ownership of Negroes began with those colonials whose personal estates ranged more than £50 total in the Inventory. Normally there were not a large number of slaves listed, however, unless the total estate was £150 or more. From that point on the number of slaves for each owner was apt to increase considerably. The largest number of slaves were in the estate of Richard Carter of Talbot county; he possessed fifty-six Negroes and five indentured servants and was worth, at the time of his death, £4126 3s 2d.¹³ The most usual number of slaves was nine, as listed in the estate of William Dorrington who was worth £173 19s.¹⁴ In the truest sense of the word, the Negro was property. He was listed as such even if he was absolutely worthless, as was the case for Mark Richardson whose estate at £440 5s 1d included the estimates of three Negro children and that of a man (drowned)—no value!¹⁵

Indentured servants were similarly treated as property and so enumerated in the Inventories. A sick servant boy and a sick man were valued at £4 respectively; both were in the estate of John Haskins of St. Mary's county. Haskins' estate amounted to only £23 7s, this being in direct contrast with the higher figures in the estates of the owners of Negro slaves. A much lower price per head and smaller numbers, only 711 for the entire period, indicate a lesser role for the indentured servant in the colonial economy.¹⁶

Mulatto slaves were listed and accounted for along with the Negro, regardless of the obvious mixture of blood. They also commanded a fair price but no more substantial a one than

¹³ I & A, 29, pp. 413-419.

¹⁴ I & A, 20, pp. 141-142.

¹⁵ I & A, 26, pp. 82-87.

¹⁶ I & A, 20, pp. 29-30.

that of a Negro field hand or house servant. There were only 107 mulattoes listed in the Inventories, a fact which at least presents a statistical record of the existence of miscegenation.

Finally, in spite of the general unsuitability of Indians for use as slaves, five were noted for the period 1700-1710. Perhaps the only significant deduction to be drawn from this lies in the classical names which were often given to these Indians. Richard Harrison of Charles County, with an estate of £735 1s 3d, owned ten Negroes, three servants, and one Indian named Pompey. Clearly Harrison admired the classics.¹⁷

There were 3402 estates listed in the Inventories, of these, 1890, more than half, were of £50 or more and therefore wealthy enough to purchase slaves. Furthermore, as was shown in Table II, the ratio between the value of those estates and the total numbers of estates at the same levels were increasing, up to the £150 figure. At that point the number of highly valued estates began to drop. For those planters in the £50 to £150 category the purchase of Negro slaves was an indication to all of economic, and probably social, promotion. The achievement of this "status symbol" removed many Maryland planters from the yeomanry class and placed them among the ranks of a new aristocracy of slaveholders.

Conceivably there were other household items carried on these Inventories which might further reflect the material wealth of the "Marylanders" during the years 1700-1710, but the authors felt that the statistics on slavery were a handy, interesting, and a fair method in demonstrating a significant criteria for riches in the colony. Slaves, Inventories, and Accounts, all add up to a picture of financial accumulation. The pound-sterling figures or their equivalents were of particular value in placing the individual estates in juxtaposition, as they were also in arranging the regional and county comparisons. Marylanders in all counties could, with skill and good luck, count upon amassing a considerable fortune.

¹⁷ I & A, 32, pp. 115-117.

BALTIMORE CITY PLACE NAMES

Part 4

STONY RUN, ITS PLANTATIONS, FARMS, COUNTRY SEATS AND MILLS

By WILLIAM B. MARYE

(continued from September)

HAILES AND MERRYMANS: HOMEWOOD

NICHOLAS Haile was, most probably, the first white settler on that part of "Merryman's Lott" which, for more than a hundred and fifty years, has been called Homewood.⁴⁴ It fell to him on a date, the record of which appears to be lost, when he and Charles Merryman divided "Merryman's Lott" between them. Haile may have settled on this land before 1700, although there is no proof that he was living there until much later. In his will, bearing date, February 27, 1730, he refers to his portion of "Merryman's Lott" as "my now dwelling plantation," and to "Haile's Addition" as "my new plantation."⁴⁵ According to a plat of "Merryman's Lott," made by Joseph Ensor in the year 1770 and already mentioned in this article (note 23), the dwelling house of the Haile family, a one-story affair, was at that time situated with-

⁴⁴ It seems probable that the Carroll's gave the name of "Homewood" to this small but important estate. The name smacks of the fanciful, and may be in the same class as Bellevue, Montevista and Belmont. If this be true, then it is futile to look for a British Homewood. Bartholomew, in his "Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles," ninth edition, and in his Survey Atlas of England and Wales, p. 72-A-5, mentions only one British "Homewood": a "seat" in the county of Cumberland, in a small park, 1½ miles south east of Whitehaven, on the road to Egremont.

⁴⁵ Baltimore County Wills, Liber 1, f. 248. The testator, Haile, leaves to his son, Neale Haile, and to his eldest daughter, Mary, his dwelling plantation, part of Merryman's Lott, and Haile's Addition, after the death of his wife, Frances. Neal Hale (sic), son of Nicholas and Frances Hale (sic) was born December 21, 1718 (Register, St. Paul's, Baltimore County, Md.), and died in 1796. (Wills, Baltimore County, Liber 5, f. 402).

in the site of the former botanical garden at Homewood, between the President's house and Gilman Hall. It may have been one of the houses on Homewood which Charles Carroll of Carrollton prudently advised his son Charles to remodel and occupy, instead of going ahead with his plan to build the relatively costly mansion now standing on Homewood.⁴⁶ On April 11, 1771, Neale Haile, son of Nicholas Haile, conveyed "Merryman's Lott," 105 acres, and "Haile's Addition," 30 acres, to Joseph Ensor, the above mentioned,⁴⁷ who, on June 27th of the same year, mortgaged these and contiguous properties to Charles Carroll of Carrollton.⁴⁸ The whole estate amounted to some 1017 acres. On September 5, 1789, Elijah Merryman and David McMechen, trustees for the estate of Joseph Ensor, Jr., *non compos mentis*, (his father was then deceased), purchased of Neal Haile the aforesaid "Haile's Addition" and part of "Merryman's Lott," which, on May 1, 1794, they sold to Mr. Carroll.⁴⁹ The great man did not long remain in possession of his part of "Merryman's Lott." The same year he deeded a part of it to Henry Wilmans and another, smaller part, to Richard Dallam, and on October 27, 1795, he sold to Mr. Wilmans 25 acres, "Lot No. 19," which appears to have been part of the same tract of land; and this was all he had.⁵⁰ Wilmans sold $79\frac{1}{2}$ acres of "Merryman's Lott" to Messrs.

⁴⁶ Md. Hist. Mag., vol. 54, p. 360. In a Particular Tax List of Patapsco Lower Hundred, Baltimore County (manuscript in possession of the Md. Hist. Soc.), circa 1799, mention is made of three simple dwelling houses, then standing on Lyliendale, part in the occupation of James Barry, and part (formerly) occupied "by Mr. [James] Walker, the late owner." Mr. Carroll very sensibly believed that his son, Charles, should chose among these three houses one which would serve his purposes, while he waited to fall heir to Doughoregan Manor.

⁴⁷ Provincial Court Proceedings, Liber D. D. No. 5, f. 150. The late Arthur Trader, Administrative Assistant of the Land Office of Maryland, to whom I owe this information, informed me that this was a "deed of Lease and Release to destroy estate intail and all reversions and remainders which were devised by his father Nicholas Haile."

⁴⁸ Provincial Court Proceedings, Liber D. D. No. 5, f. 194. So began the Carroll family's interest in "Merryman's Lott," later Homewood. Thanks are due to Mr. Trader for this information also.

⁴⁹ The last named deed is recorded in the Land Records of Baltimore County, Liber W. G. No. I, f. 524. A diligent search both at Baltimore and at Annapolis failed to discover the deed from Ensor to Merryman and McMechen, which is mentioned in the deed from the parties last named to Mr. Carroll.

⁵⁰ Md. Hist. Mag., Vol. 54, pp. 358, 359. Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. Q. Q., folios 162, 166; Liber W. G. No. N. N., f. 602. The deeds from Carroll to Wilmans, respectively, call for $79\frac{3}{4}$ acres and 11 perches, and for "Lot No. 19," 25 acres. The deed from Carroll to Dallam calls for "Lot No. 20," part of "Merryman's Lott," 30 acres.

Stephen Casenave and James Walker, April 16, 1795.⁵¹ Walker conveyed his undivided moiety of the land so acquired to James Barry, of Baltimore City, May 20, 1798.⁵² Barry bought Richard Dallam's part, January 29, 1799.⁵³ On February 12, 1801, Mr. Barry, who is described as "of the city of Washington, gent." sold his undivided half part of 122 acres, 1 rood and 20½ perches, part (½) of Merryman's Lott, to Charles Carroll, Jr.,⁵⁴ who, on August 13 following acquired the remaining moiety of Richard Caton, his brother-in-law. Mr. Caton derived his title from Samuel Moale, trustee of the estate of Stephen Casenave.⁵⁵ On this estate Mr. Carroll built Homewood.

On April 24, 1809, the elder Carroll wrote to his son from Annapolis the following letter:

I do not know what deeds Mr. Harper [Robert Goodloe Harper, his son-in-law] wants from this place to enable him to make out yr title to Merrymans Lot; he has not written me for any, nor have I any relating to the Lot but those I delivered to him the 20th Oct. 1802, viz Joseph Ensor's deed to me dated 27th June, 1771 being a mortgage of sundry lands in Baltimore & Neale Haile's deed dated 11th April 1771 for 105 acres part of Merryman's Lot and of 30 acres called Haile's Addition: this last was I presume from Haile to Ensor, as it was made previously to Ensor's mortgage to me.

In this letter Mr. Carroll mentions a "yankee" named Heard who has applied for the position of superintendent of Homewood.⁵⁶

CLOVER HILL

Captain Charles Merryman, the co-partner of Nicholas Haile in the taking up of "Merryman's Lott," resided in Patapsco Neck. He had formerly lived in Lancaster County, Virginia.⁵⁷ It seems not improbable that Haile came to Maryland

⁵¹ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. R. R., f. 190. This deed calls for Lots Nos. 21-24, part of "Merryman's Lott" containing in all 79½ acres and 51 perches.

⁵² Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 53, f. 448.

⁵³ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 58, f. 139.

⁵⁴ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 66, f. 409.

⁵⁵ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 71, f. 111.

⁵⁶ Carroll Letters, Johns Hopkins University Library.

⁵⁷ Charles Merryman bought land in Patapsco Neck, Baltimore County, in 1682 (Md. Hist. Mag., Vol. 10, p. 176: The Merryman Family, by Francis B. Culver.)

from those parts, and that he and Merryman had known each other of old.⁵⁸ It appears to be not unlikely that Merryman had cleared part of his moiety of "Merryman's Lott" and made other improvements on the property long before (in 1714) he conveyed the land, together with "Merryman's Addition," to his son, John Merryman.⁵⁹ He died December 22, 1725.⁶⁰ John Merryman died in 1749,⁶¹ and was succeeded in possession of this farm by his son, Joseph Merryman, who died in 1799.⁶² About the time of his death the farm contained 154 acres and was improved by a one-story frame dwelling house, 24 by 18 feet, with a back entry and kitchen, 28 by 16 feet, and a stone springhouse, ten feet square.⁶³ No doubt this was the springhouse which was still in place not a great many years ago at the foot of the hill on which stands the present Bishop's House, the residence of the Right Reverend Noble C. Powell. The spring over which this springhouse stood, ran into Edwards' Run (Sumwalt Run). Joseph Merryman's dwelling house is said to have occupied part of the site of the stone mansion

⁵⁸ Nicholas Haile, of York County, Va., planter, made a power of attorney to Dr. Thomas Roots, of Lancaster County, Va., in 1654. There is little doubt that he was the same person as that Mr. Nicholas Heale to whom was granted, 18 May, 1660, 738 acres on the N.W. branch of Corotoman River in Lancaster County. (Cavaliers and Pioneers, by Nell Marion Nugent, Richmond, Va., 1934, p. 569.) To this not inconsiderable estate were added by patent, 18 May, 1666, 234 acres more. (*ibid.*, p. 569). The patentee this time is called "Hale." The will of Margaret George, of Lancaster County, Va., dated 8 Feb., 1668, is witnessed by Nicholas Healee (sic), George Healee (sic) and Richard Mereman (Merryman?). (Abstracts of Lancaster County Wills, Virginia, 1653-1800, by Ida Johnson Lee, Dietz Press, Richmond, Va., p. 93.) George Heale is believed to have been a son of Nicholas Haile or Hale. (Heale Family of Lancaster County, Va., William and Mary College Quarterly First Series, Vol. XVII, pp. 296, 299). He executed a power of attorney, Nov. 8, 1677 (*ibid.*). He was a J.P. of Lancaster County in 1684, and presented that county in the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1695 and in 1697 (*ibid.*). He died in 1697. One of his sons was named Nicholas. (*ibid.* and Abstracts of Lancaster County Wills, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-112). Nicholas Haile of Baltimore County was born about 1657. In a deposition made in the year 1707 he gave his age as fifty years. (Md. Hist. Mag., Vol. 23, p. 200). This author inclines to the view that he was a son of the above-mentioned George Heale (sometimes Hale). It is worthy of note that he had a son named George.

⁵⁹ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber T.R. No. A., f. 320.

⁶⁰ The Merryman Family, by Francis B. Culver, *op. cit.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² A very interesting article by a well-known journalist, Mr. Hervey Brackbill, "The Cathedral Grounds from the Indians to Today," tells the story of "Clover Hill." It appeared in *The Cathedral Chronicle*, Autumn Number, 1941. Mr. Brackbill mentions the springhouse.

⁶³ Particular Tax List of Patapsco Lower Hundred, Baltimore County, *op. cit.*

built by one of his heirs and called "Clover Hill"—the Bishop's House. It passed out of the possession of the family in 1869, together with a part of the patrimonial estate,⁶⁴ which, although small, at the time stretched from York Road to Stony Run. By that time the old place was divided into many parcels, of which quite a number of the owners were Merrymans. In fact, as late as 1876 seven of them were Merrymans.⁶⁵ This, in view of the ever increasing pressure of suburbanization, and the restlessness of Americans, is quite a remarkable record, going back, as it does, to 1688. In 1926 the last parcel of "Merryman's Lott" still owned by a person of Merryman blood was sold to a company which was organized to build an apartment house on the site.⁶⁶

RIDGELY'S WHIM

Charles Merryman, the younger, entered into possession of, and settled on, "Merryman's Beginning" apparently without a deed from his father,⁶⁷ and died before him, in 1722. In his will, bearing date, 25th of December, 1720, he left "Merryman's Beginning" to his sons, William Merryman and Charles Merryman, jointly, styling this land his "dwelling plantation."⁶⁸ These sons sold "Merryman's Beginning" to Captain (later Colonel) Charles Ridgely (c. 1702-1772),⁶⁹ for whom, on February 4th, 1744 it was resurveyed into an extensive tract of land, containing 990 acres, which he called "Ridgely's Whim."⁷⁰ The vacant land, which was included in this resurvey, ran to 720 acres. Something more than half of this "vacancy" lies outside the Stony Run watershed, and

⁶⁴ Brackbill, *op. cit.*

⁶⁵ G. M. Hopkins' Atlas of Baltimore City and its Environs, 1876, Plate "S," pp. 72, 73. The names of the Merrymans appearing on this map as owners of parts of the old estate are: N. Merryman, Dr. Merryman, O. P. Merryman, J. Merryman, Jos. Merryman, Mrs. C. Merryman, Lewis Merryman. "Clover Hill," the home place, was then in the possession of A. S. Abell, who owned the adjacent Guilford estate.

⁶⁶ Mrs. Harry Lucas, née Merryman, was born at Clover Hill, and lived to be over ninety years old. About 1926 she sold part of "Merryman's Lott" to a company which built thereon the apartment house known as No. 100 University Parkway.

⁶⁷ I find no deed from Charles Merryman, Sr., to Charles Merryman, Jr., conveying "Merryman's Beginning," in the Land Records of Baltimore County.

⁶⁸ Baltimore County Wills, Vol. 1, f. 189.

⁶⁹ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber T. B. No. E., f. 161.

⁷⁰ L. O. M. Patented Certificate No. 4158, Baltimore County.

takes in a considerable part of Roland Park lying west of Roland Avenue. To this estate Captain Ridgely added, before 1750, a tract of land, containing 225 acres, called "Job's Addition"⁷¹ (now included in Homeland). About the time when he took up "Ridgely's Whim," he acquired, in another part of the county, "Northampton," "Hampton Court" and "Oakhampton," names which suggested that of "Hampton," the well known landed estate of the Ridgelys of later years. His son, Charles, built the Hampton mansion, which stands on "Northampton." By 1750 Captain Ridgely owned, approximately, 7249 acres in Baltimore County, according to the Baltimore County Debt Book of that year.

In his will, dated April 1, 1772, Colonel Charles Ridgely bequeathed to his daughter, Rachel Ridgely, all that remaining part of "Ridgely's Whim" which had not already been conveyed by deed of gift to his daughter, Achsah Chamier, formerly Carnan.⁷² Rachel Ridgely (1734-1813), married Colonel Darby Lux (c. 1741-1795), of "Mount Airy,"⁷³ Baltimore County, by whom she had three daughters, namely: Ann Lux, who married Colonel Thomas Deye Cockey (c. 1762-1813); Rachel Lux (1762-1810), who married James McCormick, Jr. (1764-1841); and Rebecca Lux, who married George Risteau. Colonel and Mrs. Cockey had an only child, Frances Thwaites Cockey (1794-Dec. 28, 1873), who married Dr. Edward Fendall (c. 1787-1835), of Baltimore City, a native of Charles County, Maryland, and one of Baltimore's earliest dentists.

In 1777 Colonel and Mrs. Lux sold 10½ acres, part of "Ridgely's Whim," to Robert Riddle, a Baltimore merchant, who has many descendants. In 1780 the same property,⁷⁴ on Stony Run, was purchased by Abraham Van Bibber, who,⁷⁵ in 1782

⁷¹ Baltimore County Debt Book, 1750, Calvert Papers No. 904, f. 14. Among the lands listed under his name is "Job's Addition."

⁷² Will Book 38, f. 758, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.

⁷³ "Mount Airey" (part of "Samuel's Delight") has been now for many years the farm and seat of the Sheppard-Pratt Asylum. Before the trustees of the Sheppard Asylum acquired it, "Mount Airey" was the country estate of Mr. Thomas Poultney, who bought it from the Lux family. The late Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, grandson of Thomas Poultney, gave me this information. In the *Federal Gazette* and *Baltimore Daily Advertiser* of May 6, 1796, Rachel Lux offered for sale the plantation of the late Darby Lux, "near Towson's Tavern" (site of Towson).

⁷⁴ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. A, f. 378.

⁷⁵ The following year Riddle sold this land to James Wilson. (Balto. Co. Land

purchased of Darby and Mrs. Lux $54\frac{3}{4}$ acres more, adjoining his first purchase.⁷⁶ This property, so acquired, was part of the mill seat Paradise Mill, as we shall see later.

That which remained of "Ridgely's Whim" in the possession of Mrs. Lux was estimated, c. 1799, to contain 610 acres,⁷⁷ but was later found to contain but 528 acres. It is described, c. 1799, as being situated "above the mill of Ab.^m Van Bibber, Esq." (Paradise Mill), this with reference to Stony Run.⁷⁸ In 1799, or thereabouts, the improvements on this extensive estate, which was then in the occupation of Mrs. Lux's son-in-law, Thomas Deye Cockey, were modest to say the least: a log dwelling house, one story high, 20 by 14 feet; a log kitchen, 16 by 14 feet; a log stable and "negro houses."⁷⁹ A large part of the estate was probably at that time still in woods. Fragments of these woods are still to be observed in Blythewood. These woodlands and the northeastern corner of Roland Park, where numerous old forest trees still stand, have never been cultivated by white men. In 1799 this property of the Lux family must have been for the most part, difficult of access. That aspect of its situation changed radically in 1806, when Cold Spring Lane was laid out.⁸⁰

On September 25th, 1797, Mrs. Lux gave bond to her son-in-law and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Deye Cockey, to make over to them one half of what remained of "Ridgely's Whim" in her possession, a contract which she made good on October 1st, 1803.⁸¹ On April 17, 1802, a division line was run by James Bouldin, the county surveyor.⁸² The northern half of the property was allotted to the Cockeys; the southern half fell to the McCormicks. Each part contained 264 acres.

Records, Liber W. G. No. C., f. 35). Wilson conveyed it to Daniel Bowley, (*ibid.*, f. 68) who in 1780, sold it to Van Bibber. (Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber A. L. No. F., f. 254).

⁷⁶ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. G., f. 410.

⁷⁷ Particular Tax List of Patapsco Lower Hundred, Baltimore County c. 1799.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ See above, note 30.

⁸¹ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 76, f. 273.

⁸² Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 75, folios 221-225. Bouldin's plat is filed with this deed. The division line begins at a stone and runs thence South $82\frac{1}{2}$ degrees West 147 to a hickory tree; thence the same course 21 perches—in all, a little over half a mile. The plat shows 77 acres marked "William Bowen" as part of the land allotted to the McCormick's. Subsequent

HEBRON

Ignoring the sale of small parcels of land as of no interest to the reader, let us now take up the history of the McCormick subdivision of "Ridgely's Whim," the patrimony of the McCormick Family.

James McCormick, a Baltimore merchant, was born in County Tyrone, Ireland, in 1763. He came to America soon after the close of the Revolution and died in Washington, D. C., June 6, 1841. His first wife, Rachel Ridgely Lux, died in 1810. By her he had two sons, William Lux McCormick and John Pleasants McCormick (1799-1868). The former married Esther Hough Cottman, daughter of Lazarus Cottman, of Somerset County, Md., and the latter married her sister, Ann Elizabeth Cottman. A portrait of James McCormick and family, by Joshua Johnston, the Negro artist, is in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society.⁸³

On December 13, 1802, James McCormick and wife conveyed to Abraham Van Bibber, for the sum of \$9742, 187 acres, part of "Merryman's Beginning" and "Ridgely's Whim" (the first named was, as we have seen, included in the second), "excepting out of the undivided moiety of the said James and Rachel and out of the moiety divided and located on the plat 77 acres of land being the 77 [acres] on the plat annexed [see note 82] with the words Willia Bowen wrote thereon, which the said James and Rachel had heretofore sold and laid off for said Bowen, *the fee in which remains in them and is not intended to be sold or conveyed*" [author's italics]; "and also all their and each of their right . . . in and to the lands on which said Van Bibbers mill is erected and to all their and each of their right . . . in and to 'Ridgely's Whim' and 'Merryman's Beginning,' except the 77 acres aforesaid."⁸⁴ No deed from McCormick to Bowen has been found, and Bowen nowhere subsequently appears to having any claim on

deeds seem to bear out this author's opinion that this division line was later followed by Cold Spring Lane.

⁸³ For these details I am indebted to the late Dr. J. Hall Pleasants. See his notes on the McCormick family portraits, manuscript belonging to the Md. Hist. Society.

⁸⁴ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 75, f. 218 *et seq.* See also W. G. No. 74, f. 406.

these 77 acres. This small estate was "Hebron," the country seat of the McCormicks for many years. It stretched, originally, from Cold Spring Lane southwards as far as 40th Street, and from Hawthorn Road along Cold Spring Lane westwards across Roland Avenue to the far side of Evans Chapel Road, until the land now lying west of Roland Avenue was sold off. Abraham Van Bibber's 187 acres formed the bulk of his Paradise Farm (later called "Kensington"), which surrounded his Paradise Mill (*q.v.*).

On April 14, 1840, William L. McCormick and Esther H. McCormick, his wife, sold to Jeremiah Tittle all his one-fourth part of 80 acres, part of "Ridgely's Whim," which he held in right of his late mother, subject to a life estate of his father, James McCormick therein, for the sum of \$800.00;⁸⁵ and on January 23, 1841, Tittle sold the land back to McCormick for \$1000.00.⁸⁶ In the later deed the land conveyed is described as "1/4 part of a tract of land called Hebron or Ridgely's Whim." Sidney and Brown's *Map of Baltimore City and County, 1850*, shows the residence of J. McCormick on the southern side of Cold Spring Lane west of Stony Run. On April 29, 1853, John P. McCormick and wife leased to Francis H. Jencks⁸⁷ of Baltimore City, for the term of ninety-nine years, in consideration of the sum of \$148.43 and a yearly rent of \$240.00, part of "Ridgely's Whim," containing 33 acres and 30 square perches of land.⁸⁸ That part of "Hebron" which remained in the occupancy of the McCormick Family lay in the middle between the land sold to Van Bibber and the land leased to Jencks. In his will, dated 17 April 1860, John Pleasants McCormick left to his wife "the farm or tract of land in Baltimore County on which I reside called Hebron, containing about 40 acres in fee." To his nephew, James L. McCormick, son of his brother, he left "all my interest in 33 acres and 30 perches of land in Baltimore County leased to Francis

⁸⁵ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber T. K. No. 301, f. 305.

⁸⁶ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber T. K. No. 305, f. 245.

⁸⁷ Francis Haynes Jencks (1812-1888), a prominent citizen of Baltimore, who came here from New England; grandfather of Francis Haynes Jencks, the well known Baltimore architect. There seems to be no tradition that the Jencks family ever occupied this land as a country seat (see under "Mount Pleasant.")

⁸⁸ Baltimore County Land Records, Towson, Maryland, Liber 5, f. 105.

Jencks for \$240.00 per annum called Ridgely's Whim."⁸⁹ In her will, dated 21 December, 1866, Elizabeth Ann McCormick, widow of J. P. McCormick, leaves to Stewart Brown and Frederick Brune, for the benefit of her great-nephew, Thomas P. McCormick, until he comes of age, "my farm or property in Baltimore County consisting of about twenty-four acres of land called Hebron."⁹⁰ On November 6, 1861; John P. McCormick and wife sold to Charles Reese something over 16 acres of land, part of "Ridgely's Whim," situated two miles from Baltimore City, bounded on the north by the Public Road leading from the York Turnpike Road to the Falls Turnpike Road (Cold Spring Lane), a distance of 960 feet, and on the east by "Gibson" (part of Paradise Farm).⁹¹ Mrs. McCormick released a mortgage on this property to Mr. Reese, 17 May, 1862, which was then the place of residence of Mr. Reese, "formerly called Hebron and now called Elsinore."⁹² Messrs. Brune and Stewart, Mrs. McCormick's executors, being empowered under the terms of a codicil to sell part or all of "Hebron" which she had willed to Thomas P. McCormick, accordingly did sell two small parcels of this farm, one to Edward M. Greenway, the other to David G. McIntosh. They deeded, on June 2, 1873, all that remained of "Hebron" in the family, 16½ acres, to Thomas P. McCormick, who had recently come of age.⁹³ On August 8, 1881, Mr. McCormick sold this property, "being part of a tract of land called "Hebron," to Elizabeth Lee, of Baltimore County, for a consideration of \$6,600.00.⁹⁴ In this way the McCormicks parted company with the last parcel of land which descended to them through the Lux family from Colonel Charles Ridgely. Some time before 1886 Mr. Thomas H. Hanson, a Baltimore man of affairs and philanthropist, acquired this small estate, which he called "Wilton Villa." In that year he made a deed of gift of seven acres of this property to the trustees of St. Mary's Female Orphan Asylum, on which new buildings to house

⁸⁹ Wills, Baltimore County, Liber 30, f. 308.

⁹⁰ Wills, Baltimore County, Liber 33, f. 493.

⁹¹ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber G. H. C. No. 33, f. 327, Towson, Maryland.

⁹² Baltimore County Land Records, Liber H. M. F. No. 16, f. 447.

⁹³ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 81, f. 118, Towson, Maryland.

⁹⁴ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 127, f. 65, Towson, Maryland.

that institution were, without delay, erected. Mr. Hanson bequeathed to the asylum nine acres more, after the death of his wife. She died in 1896. The asylum purchased four acres of "Mr. Jencks" (Francis M. Jencks, 1846-1918, son of Francis H. Jencks, above mentioned), in 1912, lying between the land already in its possession and Roland Avenue.⁹⁵ A "spring branch" rises on Hebron and empties into Stony Run. I believe it is now entirely covered over.

MRS. FENDALL'S INHERITANCE

Upon the death of her father, Mr. Cockey, in 1813, Mrs. Fendall came into possession of 264 acres, part of "Ridgely's Whim." Some small part of this land lay west of Evans Chapel Road, in Roland Park. The remainder included all the land formerly bounded by Evans Chapel Road, Wyndhurst Avenue (then called Cedar Lane), Stony Run and Cold Spring Lane. East of Stony Run it took in almost all of "Attica," lately the Robert Garrett estate, and "Blythewood," but did not include all of "Linkwood," the estate of the late Dr. Hugh Hampton Young, or the Crocker property. These properties belonged to "Paradise Farm."

CEDAR GROVE

During the lifetime of Dr. Fendall, Mrs. Fendall disposed of all of her land situated to the eastward of Stony Run, and her land lying west of Evans Chapel Road. On July 19, 1815, Dr. and Mrs. Fendall conveyed to David Jones 40 acres of land, being part of "Ridgely's Whim," situated on both sides of Stony Run, but mostly on its eastern side, including the southern part of what later became known as "Blythewood."⁹⁶

⁹⁵ *A Hundred Years of St. Mary's Female Orphan Asylum of Baltimore*, 1808-1908, by Samuel C. Appleby, pp. 1, 31, 45. Courtesy of Miss Martha Bokel.

⁹⁶ This and adjoining land, forming one property, were advertised for sale in the *Baltimore American* of March 16, 1815, by one William Vance, a Baltimore engineer, who must have been an agent for the Fendalls. The property is described as follows: "100 acres of land with a mill seat, situated between the York and the Falls Turnpike Roads, about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from each, in a very agreeable and healthy [sic] situation, commanding an extensive view of the environs of the Bay. The chief part of the said land is heavily timbered, a never failing stream [Stony Run] runs through it with a great fall for water works. It has several springs of excellent water. A public road [Cold Spring Lane] runs in front from the York Road to the Falls Turnpike Road. This tract proceeds from Dr. Fendalls farm. The soil is very rich and the title indisputable. The

This small farm was called "Cedar Grove." Within its limits at the intersection of Kendall and Wilmslow Roads, in Roland Park, stands an old stone house, which, until recently, was the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Malcolm Marty. According to available evidence, this house must have been built by Thomas Deye Cockey, between 1800 and 1813. A somewhat later addition was probably put up by Jones.⁹⁷ This Mr. Jones was a native of Great Britain, and died at "Cedar Grove," September 13, 1845.⁹⁸ His widow, Mrs. Sarah Jones, resided there, but before 1876 the property had passed into other hands.⁹⁹

WOODLAWN

An interesting article by the late B. Latrobe Weston, entitled "Before Roland Park," appeared in the Baltimore *Evening Sun* of May 8th, 1934. Mr. Weston goes into the history of two farms, or estates, "Oakland," 264 acres, and "Woodlawn," 117 acres. The former is, in large part, composed of that part of "Ridgley's Whim" which Charles Ridgley gave to his daughter Mrs. Chamier (see under "Ridgley's Whim"). It lies outside the Stony Run watershed and does not concern us. "Woodlawn," says Mr. Weston, was purchased of "the

said place will be divided into two lots if required, one with the mill seat and the other which is heavily timbered, is said to contain very rich iron ore." In the *Baltimore American* of April 15th, same year, this same tract of land is again advertised. Applicants are advised to apply to P. Launay or to Dr. Fendall, Gay Street. This notice mentions the possibilities of the "great fall" of water. The chief part is said to be "heavily timbered"; the rest in "young and thriving timber." The property lies $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from Baltimore Town. The deed from Fendall to Jones is recorded in Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W.G. No. 134, f. 29.

⁹⁷ The author interviewed Mr. Marty on March 18, 1944, who most kindly gave him the following information:

Mr. Marty has seen a newspaper advertisement of the year 1815 (which I overlooked) in which the property in question is described as improved by a "modern stone house," a barn and an ice pond. Mr. and Mrs. Marty have a letter they received from a descendant of David Jones, in which the writer says that he (Mr. Jones) built the house then standing. Mr. and Mrs. Marty owned one acre of ground on which the house stood. This house may well be the oldest building in the Stony Run valley, which, to be sure, is not saying very much.

⁹⁸ Dielman Biographical Index, Md. Hist. Society. The deceased was 65 years old and had resided 44 years in Baltimore County.

⁹⁹ J. C. Sidney and P. S. Brown's Map of Baltimore City and County, 1850, *op. cit.*, shows the residence of "Mrs. Jones" on the west side of Stony Run and the north side of Cold Spring Lane. Robert Taylor's map of Baltimore City and County, 1875, shows the house of "Mrs. Jones—Cedar Park." Hopkins' Atlas of Baltimore and its Environs, 1876, plate T, shows the house and land in question as in the possession of William A. Martien.

Greenways," in 1862, by Mr. Hiram Woods, a Baltimore merchant engaged in sugar refining, who built a residence on the property. The entrance to his farm was marked by a gatehouse, which stood near the present intersection of Roland Avenue and Elmhurst Road. Mr. Weston mentions the considerable lake (which was partly included within the limits of this farm), which was used for boating and fishing.¹⁰⁰ This pond, or small lake, was the largest of the three ponds which, in the past century, were situated on Stony Run, between Wyndhurst Avenue and Cold Spring Lane. Mr. Weston goes on to tell how Mr. Woods sold "Woodlawn" to Richard Capron in 1874, who years later conveyed it to the Roland Park Company. According to Mr. Weston, "Woodlawn," extended to "Cross Keys," on the western side of Evans' Chapel Road.

The original "Woodlawn," part of "Ridgely's Whim," came out of the 264 acres of her grandfather Ridgely's estate which belonged to Mrs. Edward Fendall. The name is commemorated by Woodlawn Road. "Woodlawn" lay within the area bounded by Stony Run, Cold Spring Lane, Evans Chapel Road and Cedar Lane, later known as Wyndhurst Avenue, and contained about 135 acres. The old Woodlawn house, residence of the Woods family, stood, until about thirty years ago, on the north west corner of Woodlawn and Upland Roads, in Roland Park, on the site (unless I am very much mistaken) of the Fendall house. It was a frame house.

Years after the death of Dr. Fendall¹⁰¹ his widow began dividing up "Woodlawn" and deeding it away in lots. On March 9, 1863, she sold to Edward M. Greenway some 24 acres, part of "Ridgely's Whim," which is described in the deed as the land which Rachel Lux, in 1803, conveyed to Mrs. Fendall, "subject to a life interest in her mother, Anne Cockey."¹⁰² The land so conveyed bounds for a third of a mile on Evans Chapel Road and for 23 perches on Cedar Avenue (Wynd-

¹⁰⁰ The author consulted Miss Lucy Chase Woods, a daughter of Mr. Hiram Woods, about this lake, who told him that it was used for skating.

¹⁰¹ Dr. Edward Fendall died, 12 Sept., 1834, at the age of 47. He was one of the pioneers in the practice of dentistry in Baltimore City. He owned a farm in Charles County and a farm in Harford County at the time of his death. (Wills, Baltimore County, Liber 15, f. 277).

¹⁰² Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 37, f. 33, Towson, Md. The deed of 1803 is recorded in Liber W.G. No. 76, f. 278.

hurst Avenue). Included in his deed was the right to erect a water wheel on Stony Run for the purpose of pumping water from a spring. This spring rose in the hollow now partly occupied by Park Lane, Roland Park, where Park Lane and Keswick Road meet. On September 7th of the same year Mr. Greenway conveyed this land to Hiram Woods, Jr.¹⁰³

The name of "Woodlawn" dates from the time of the Fendalls. Although there is an Irish "Woodlawn"¹⁰⁴ our "Woodlawn" probably has no connection with any place in Great Britain. The reader will find the words "Woodlawn—Mrs. Fendall—" in that area of Robert Taylor's Map of Baltimore City and County (1857) which is bounded by Evans Chapel Road (so named), Cold Spring Lane (not named), Wyndhurst Avenue (then called Cedar Lane, but not named), and Charles Street (so named), then but recently laid out. Evans Chapel Road is shown in its entirety, from Cold Spring Lane to the road now called Lake Avenue, at "J. W. Wards—Poplar Hill." Years later, the greater part of this old road was absorbed, so to speak, by Roland Avenue.

On October 30, 1863, Mr. Woods purchased of Mrs. Fendall some 15 acres of "Ridgely's Whim," adjoining the land he had acquired of Mr. Greenway,¹⁰⁵ and on May 10th of the following year Mrs. Fendall sold him $33\frac{1}{4}$ acres more, adjacent to his first purchase.¹⁰⁶ These lands, with some additions which need not detain us, made up his "Woodlawn" farm. He sold it, 19 May, 1875, for a consideration of \$100,000.00 to Mrs. Laura Lee Capron, wife of Richard J. Capron.¹⁰⁷ That the Roland Park Company acquired this farm from the Caprons is stated on the authority of Mr. Weston (see above).

On May 11th, 1864, Mrs. Fendall sold $19\frac{3}{4}$ acres of "Ridge-

¹⁰³ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 38, f. 464, Towson, Md., Hiram Woods, Jr. (1826-1901), was the son of Hiram and Elizabeth (Chase) Woods, of Halifax, Mass., and Baltimore, Md.

¹⁰⁴ Bartholomew's Gazetteer of the British Isles, ninth edition: Woodlawn is the name of a railway station in the eastern part of County Galway, 10 miles west of Ballinsloe, and Woodlawn House, the seat of Lord Ashton, stands one mile south-west of the station.

¹⁰⁵ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 39, f. 1, Towson, Md.

¹⁰⁶ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 41, f. 8, Towson, Md.

¹⁰⁷ This information comes from a mortgage, Capron to Woods, recorded at Towson, Md., in Liber 62, at f. 260. I was unable to find the deed from Woods to Capron.

ly's Whim " to Allen A. Chapman.¹⁰⁸ This piece of land was bounded by the land belonging to the Kyles (see presently), by the land belonging to " Mrs. Jones " (" Cedar Park," *q.v.*) and by an avenue 30 feet wide. On March 28, 1873, Messrs. Brooks and Barton, assignees in bankruptcy, paid Mrs. Chapman \$1135.02 for her dower rights in this and three other parcels of land.¹⁰⁹ About this time, or not long afterwards, this property was " developed " with the idea, so we are told, of providing homes for working men, and called " Evergreen." It was the first " development " in this neighborhood, and long antedated Roland Park, of which it is not a part.¹¹⁰

On May 11, 1863, Mrs. Fendall deeded to George Goldsmith Presbury, Jr., $22\frac{3}{4}$ acres of " Ridgely's Whim," bounded on the north by " an avenue leading from Charles Street Avenue " to Evans Chapel Road (this was Wyndhurst Avenue) and on the south by Samuel A. S. Kyle's part of the same land.¹¹¹ On November 4, 1864, she deeded to Anne E. Kyle (her daughter, wife of Samuel A. S. Kyle), 17 acres, part of " Ridgely's Whim." ¹¹² This land, to judge by her deed to Presbury, was already in the possession of the Kyles. It was bounded by the land sold to Presbury, the land sold to Chapman, the land sold by Greenway to Woods, and the land of Mr. Edmondson (" Blythewood "). As far as I can make out, this property and the property deeded to Chapman were the last portions of " Ridgely's Whim " in the possession of Mrs. Fendall.

In her will, dated 18 May, 1868, in which she describes herself as a resident of Baltimore City, Mrs. Fendall expresses a desire to be buried " in the family burying ground at Woodlawn, Baltimore County." ¹¹³ It seems not unlikely that this

¹⁰⁸ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 41, f. 6, Towson, Md.

¹⁰⁹ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 79, f. 245, Towson, Md.

¹¹⁰ Hopkins's Atlas of Baltimore and Its Environs, Vol. 1, p. 76, Plate T, shows this piece of land divided into ninety-three lots, and bounded by Cold Spring Lane, and the lands of Richard J. Capron, S. Kyle and William Martein. The " Pro.^d Narrow Gauge [sic] Railroad " (later the Maryland and Pennsylvania), runs through the Martein property, having been constructed as far as Towson-town. The " development " is intersected by Chestnut Avenue and Prospect Avenue, both running north and south.

¹¹¹ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 37, f. 400, Towson, Md.

¹¹² Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 43, f. 254, Towson, Md.

¹¹³ Wills, Baltimore County, Towson, Md., Liber 4, f. 329. The following children are mentioned in this will: Anne Kyle, aforesaid; Philip R. Fendall; Alice L. Maynadier, wife of Jeremiah Maynadier; Charles E. Fendall; Emily L.

graveyard was situated on the Kyle estate, for these seventeen acres were all that was left of the 264 acres which had descended to Mrs. Fendall from her great-grandfather Ridgely. In modern terms this property is surrounded as follows: by Oakdale Road, Keswick Road, Hawthorn Road and Elmhurst Road, and is a part of Roland Park. Mrs. Fendall died December 28, 1873.¹¹⁴ Her daughter, Mrs. Kyle, died the following year. Her will¹¹⁵ leaves the property in question to her husband, Samuel A. S. Kyle.¹¹⁶

On December 15, 1863, George G. Presbury and wife, Louisa, conveyed to Hiram Woods, Jr., for a consideration of \$500.00, certain rights, which are defined in the deed as follows:

The joint and equal right, benefit, etc., in common with the said Presbury of using the Pond constructed by the latter [Presbury] on his land adjoining the land of the said Woods situated in Baltimore County on the road or lane called Cedar Lane [now Wyndhurst Avenue] for the purpose of cutting and taking therefrom a supply of ice; also for the purpose of boating and bathing with the right also to construct and put up a wheel house at a suitable place on the land of the said Presbury and having retained sufficient ground for the construction of the said wheel house with the right to enter at all suitable times for repairing the same, and also the perpetual right of having a sufficient supply of water from the Pond aforesaid to drive the said wheel in order to force the water upon and supply the premises of the said Hiram Woods, Junior, with water from the springs on the grounds of the said George G. Presbury, Junior, lying west of the Stony Run Stream, and also right to a road way from the said Pond through the land of the said Presbury to the premises of the said Woods with free ingress and egress. [Right to erect the water wheel is confirmed by Presbury to Woods, the said wheel to be erected] "at or below the Spring on Stony Run." [It is therein provided] "that the pipe leading from the Pond within mentioned to the water wheel of the said Woods shall not be over six inches in diameter that no further drain of water from the Pond shall be made."¹¹⁷

Duval, wife of Elridge G. Duvall; Araminta Duvall, wife of William B. Duvall; and a deceased daughter, Louisa, who married, and had an only child, Mrs. George H. Kyle.

¹¹⁴ Dielman Biographical Index, Md. Hist. Society.

¹¹⁵ Baltimore County Wills, Towson, Md., Liber 4, f. 445. This will was probated 22 Dec., 1874.

¹¹⁶ He was a member of the Baltimore firm of Dinsmore and Kyle.

¹¹⁷ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 39, f. 194, Towson, Md.

On June 12th, 1866, Mr. Presbury sold to Mr. Woods the $23\frac{3}{4}$ acres, part of "Ridgely's Whim," which he bought of Mrs. Fendall.¹¹⁸ Ownership of the pond was thereby divided.

When it was intact, this pond (or "lake," as it was sometimes called) must have been a thing of considerable beauty. Photographs of the two lesser ponds, situated a little farther downstream, both on "Blythewood," show lovely sheets of water, with beautiful surroundings. Unfortunately about 1876, a narrow gauge railway (later the Maryland and Pennsylvania) was built from Baltimore up the valley of Stony Run. It crossed the lake from south to north, destroying (there can be no reasonable doubt) whatever charm it may have possessed. This pond and the "Paradise Mill" pond were, in my opinion, the largest ponds ever built in this valley. The Presbury pond was six hundred feet long and its extreme width was not less than two hundred feet.¹¹⁹

WINDHURST OR ATTICA

On the western side of Charles Street Avenue, between Wyndhurst Avenue and Cold Spring Lane, there were, until lately, three comparatively old countryseats, "Windhurst," later "Attica," "Blythewood" and Crocker's, which last, as far as I have been able to find out, had no name either fancy, historical, or realistic. "Blythewood" was the first to be subdivided. "Wyndhurst" is a variation, but scarcely an improvement, on "Windhurst," if, as I believe, they were not pronounced alike.¹²⁰ The Robert Garretts, called it "Attica," the Bakers called it "Windhurst," and George G. Presbury, it is said, called it "Eagles."¹²¹ It is now the seat of Boumi Temple, Ancient Arabic Order, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. The impressive Baker-Garrett mansion has been pulled down. "Attica" and the northern part of "Blythewood" came out of a tract of land, containing $56\frac{3}{4}$ acres, probably a small farm,

¹¹⁸ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 45, f. 284, Towson, Md.

¹¹⁹ These measurements are taken from Hopkins' Atlas of Baltimore and its Environs, 1876, Vol. 1, p. 76, Plate T.

¹²⁰ On Hopkins' Atlas of Baltimore and Its Environs, 1875, the place, then the residence of William S. G. Baker, is called "Windhurst," while the avenue on which it bounds is called Wyndhurst Avenue.

¹²¹ This information comes from the late J. Paul Baker, a son of William S. G. Baker.

part of "Ridgely's Whim" and part of "Gift Resurveyed," which Dr. and Mrs. Edward Fendall conveyed to John Martin in the year 1819.¹²² In 1822 Martin sold this property to Granville S. Oldfield.¹²³ Oldfield sold it, in 1827, to Henry Hazle,¹²⁴ who, in 1833, with John Berryman, conveyed it to William Lowry.¹²⁵ Lowry held it nearly ten years and, in 1843, sold it to Dr. James Duck.¹²⁶ On July 16, 1847, Dr. Duck, then of Brooklyn, New York, sold this estate, together with an adjacent part of "Vauxhall," to the Rev. James Joseph Dolan, for \$5000.¹²⁷ In less than thirty years this property had had four owners, and the end of this short-term ownership was not yet. The same year Father Dolan purchased of Mrs. Mary Linthicum, trustee, lands adjoining his first purchase on the east. His second purchase included all the northern part of the Notre Dame School and Convent grounds, and was mostly part of "Job's Addition." In 1850 he deeded all these lands to the Trustees of the Orphans' Home.¹²⁸

Father Dolan, a native of Ireland, was a man of ideas and ideals. He built the Orphans' Home with borrowed capital, in 1847. The Home was not incorporated until 1849.¹²⁹ The inmates of the Home were expected to work on the farm, which was said to be in a neglected condition. The site of the Home is indicated by name on Sidney and Brown's *Map of Baltimore City and County, 1850*.¹³⁰ Shown on this map is a

¹²² Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W.G. No. 153, f. 283, and Liber W.G. No. 154, f. 8. The first deed conveys 53 acres and a small plot of 114 square perches. The 53 acres are described as bounded by "Vauxhall" and "Job's Addition" and by the land sold to David Jones (*q.v.*). The second deed calls for 3 acres and 20 square perches, part of "Ridgely's Whim."

¹²³ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W.G. No. 164, f. 354.

¹²⁴ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W.G. No. 186, f. 73.

¹²⁵ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber T.K. No. 230, f. 165.

¹²⁶ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber T.K. No. 335, f. 532.

¹²⁷ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber A.W.B., f. 283. The land therein conveyed is described as all the land which was sold to the grantor by William Lowry and wife, except 24 acres, part of "Ridgely's Whim" and "Vauxhall," which James Duck and wife sold to Michael Alder, 26 March last past.

¹²⁸ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber A.W.B. No. 445, f. 337. In this conveyance the deed from Linthicum to Dolan is referred and its date given. Mrs. Linthicum was a Bryan, and the land she deeded to Father Dolan had belonged to her father, James Bryan (*q.v.*).

¹²⁹ Acts of the Maryland Assembly, 1849, Chapter 389.

¹³⁰ By J. C. Sidney and P. J. Browne, Published, Baltimore, Md., by James M. Stephens. On this map there is no sign of Wyndhurst Road, nor is it to be observed on Taylor's Map of Baltimore City and County, 1857.

road leading from the York Road to the Orphans' Home. A section of this road is still in use under the name of Notre Dame Lane.¹³¹ During the time of the Orphans' Home the spring on this property was blessed, and seminary students used to visit it in order to drink of its waters.¹³² This spring, situated a short distance southeast of the site of the Garrett mansion, near Charles Street, has been covered over, but the old springhouse which sheltered it is undoubtedly the one now standing. This springhouse is shown (I believe) on Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore and its Environs, 1876*.¹³³

The estate lately known as "Attica" was the seat of the Orphans' Home for thirteen years, if we begin with Father Dolan's deed from Dr. Duck. On November 8, 1860, the Trustees of the Orphans' Home sold this property, containing 38 acres, and composed of parts of "Ridgely's Whim," "Gift Resurveyed" and "Mount Pleasant," to William B. Duvall, Jr., for a consideration of \$38,000.¹³⁴ The two tracts of land last named lay, respectively, the one along Cold Spring Lane, the other along Charles Street Avenue. During these thirteen years the value of the property had greatly increased, owing in part to the extension of Charles Street Avenue, in 1854, and perhaps to the laying-out of Cedar Lane, now Wyndhurst Ave., but chiefly, I believe, to the erection of a substantial building, the Orphans' Home, itself.

In purchasing this estate Mr. Duvall bought back into the possession of the Ridgely family that part of "Ridgely's Whim" of which it was largely composed, but only for a brief spell. His first wife, whom he married December 12, 1837, was

¹³¹ From Miss Martha C. Bokel I obtained the following information: Notre Dame Lane runs from the York Road to the east side of the Notre Dame property, a short distance west of the site of the Albert (Cedar Lawn) Lake. It was originally called Church Lane, and went to the Orphans Home.

¹³² This information was given me by the late Mr. J. Paul Baker, who was born in 1863, and went to live on "Windhurst," the name his father gave to the Orphans Home property, in 1865, when the elder Mr. Baker bought it. This gentleman was William Sebastian Graff Baker, who died about 1920, at the age of eighty-three.

¹³³ History of Saint Mary's Church, Govans, by the Rev. Paul E. Meyer, 1942, pp. 16, 19. For calling my attention to this history I am much indebted to Miss Martha C. Bokel. Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore and Its Environs, 1876*, Vol. 1, Plate T, p. 76. This map shows a small building situated at the head of the stream, a tributary of the Homeland Branch of Stony Run, which rises on Attica at the spring over which stands the present springhouse.

¹³⁴ Towson, Maryland, Deed Book 31, f. 135.

Laura Fendall, a daughter of Dr. Edward Fendall and Frances Thwaites (Cockey) Fendall. She died in 1845, and he married, 2nd, her sister, Araminta Fendall, who died in 1909. Mr. Duvall was born in 1813, and died in 1869.¹³⁵

The property under consideration was sold by William B. Duvall, May 5, 1862, to George G. Presbury, Jr., who has already been mentioned. Mr. Duvall appears to have lost money in the transaction. The consideration was \$23,470, subject to payment of a mortgage to the trustees of the Orphans' Home, amounting to \$6,500.¹³⁶

George Gouldsmith Presbury, Jr., the fourth of that name, was a man of excellent family, according to Maryland standards of his time. He belonged to that branch of the Presburys of "Elk Neck," Harford County, which owned and resided upon an extensive estate situated on the Baltimore County side of Gunpowder River, above Oliver Point.¹³⁷ This estate was called "Surveyor's Point," the old name for Oliver Point. He was the son of George Gouldsmith Presbury, III, and his wife, Sarah Howard, daughter of Thomas Gassaway Howard, Esq. of "Bloomfield," Baltimore County, ancestors of the Duchess of Windsor. Mr. Presbury engaged in the hotel business. He owned, it is said, a hotel in Philadelphia and a hotel in Cape May. During the season at Cape May chilling east winds were wont to blow and chilly days occurred, especially as autumn and closing-time drew nigh. The late J. Paul Baker told me that the resourceful Mr. Presbury met this situation by appearing before his guests attired in light summer clothing, while (unknown to them, but, perhaps suspected by some) he had on "two or three suits of heavy underwear." I am under the impression that after selling "Windhurst," or "Eagles . . ." as he is said to have called it, he went to live in the North. I am informed that he married a Miss Lusby.¹³⁸ Except

¹³⁵ I do not find this road (Wyndhurst) on any map prior to 1860; but I think it may be considerably older. My opinion is that it was a farm lane, giving access to the Alder farm, which occupied the northern side of Cedar Lane between Roland Avenue and Stony Run, being part of "Vauxhall," and was called Cherry Hill.

¹³⁶ Towson, Maryland, Deed Book 34, f. 329.

¹³⁷ See this author's account of the Presbury family in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Volume LIII, p. 247, note 32.

¹³⁸ The author had this from his mother,

as a surname of colored people, the Presbury name appears to be extinct in Maryland.

The property later known as "Windhurst," and later still as "Attica," came into the possession of William Sebastian Graff Baker in 1865. He purchased it of George G. Presbury, Jr., for a consideration of sixty thousand dollars, and it contained a little over thirty-eight acres.¹³⁹ Mr. Baker died about 1920, at the age of eighty-three. His wife was Elizabeth Zanzinger Cockey. In 1945 I had the pleasure of interviewing his son, the late J. Paul Baker, who was then in his eighty-third year and who died a few years later. Mr. Baker was born in Baltimore and went to live at "Windhurst" (as the Bakers called it) in 1865. At that time Wyndhurst Road, according to Mr. Baker, was a country lane bordered by cedar trees, and was called Cedar Lane. Mr. Baker showed me an old photograph of "Windhurst." Since this photograph was taken the aspect of the house was considerably altered, but it appeared to this author to have been, in the time of the Bakers, of the same size as it is today. It was four stories high. Mr. Baker told me that his father had been obliged to rebuild one of the walls of "Windhurst" which rested on an old foundation. At the time of this interview I was of the opinion that George Gouldsmith Presbury built "Attica" or "Windhurst." Mr. Baker agreed with this theory, but said he thought Mr. Presbury had erected the mansion on the foundations of the Orphans' Home. He added that the Garretts had made considerable improvements in the house. The Rev. Paul E. Meyer, the author of the *History of Saint Mary's Church, Govanstown*, was of the opinion that the Orphans' Home stood on the site of the Garrett mansion. There are no ruins or extensive foundations on this property which might be the remains of the Home. I, myself, have come around to the opinion that the Garrett mansion was the Orphans' Home, altered so as to make it into a convenient family residence. There is reason to believe that it was not built by Mr. Presbury and dates from before the time of his ownership. In the time of the Bakers there was a windowpane in the dining room on which was engraved, or scratched, the name

¹³⁹ Towson, Maryland, Deed Book 44, f. 402. Bond, George G. Presbury, Jr., to William S. G. Baker, 15 April, 1863.

"Duvall." I had this from Mr. J. Paul Baker. In all probability the Duvalls built "Attica."

Mr. Baker's father sold "Windhurst" to the late Robert Garrett in 1906.¹⁴⁰ The property remained in the possession of this distinguished gentleman for over fifty years. It was a "show-place," the seat of culture and the scene of elegant hospitality.

BLYTHEWOOD¹⁴¹

This beautiful name is probably not fanciful in its origin, as some people might be led to suppose. Blythewood and Blythswood are the names of British family seats. Blythwood is the name of a family seat and post-town near Maidenhead, Berkshire. Blythswood is the name of a seat on the south bank of the Clyde, below Renfrew, in Scotland.¹⁴²

On May 10th, 1667, (Colonel) John Douglas (Douglas) took up "Blithwood," on the north side of the Potomac River, in Charles County, Maryland.¹⁴³ This gentleman was a direct ancestor of Mrs. George Weems Williams, who for the past forty years has lived on Baltimore's Blythewood, in a beautiful house which occupies the site of the Blythewood barn. This is a very interesting coincidence. It is not unlikely that Col. John Douglas named his survey for a family seat in Scotland.¹⁴⁴ A Baltimorean, Joseph A. Edmondson, who died May 16, 1891, at the age of seventy-three, named our local Blythewood. From a letter, addressed by his grandson, J. Hooper Edmondson, to George Weems Williams, dated November 17, 1932, we gather

¹⁴⁰ This information is taken from a letter addressed to the author by Mr. Garrett from Lake Placid Club, Essex County, New York, 15 July, 1944: "When I brought the property in 1906," the letter reads, "there was a frame cottage near my barn (which still stands). The cottage however was torn down and in its place was built the present stone house near the southern boundary. The main house, the barn and the frame cottage were the only buildings on the property in 1906—except a stone spring-house."

¹⁴¹ The author is very much indebted to Mrs. George Weems Williams, who lives on part of Blythewood, for aid in preparing this chapter, particularly for the loan of Mr. Edmondson's letters to her late husband and for photographs of the two Blythewood ponds. The author is also indebted to Mr. James R. Edmunds, 3rd, another resident on Blythewood, for valuable information.

¹⁴² Bartholomew's Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles, 9th edition, 1943, p. 77.

¹⁴³ Charles County Rent Roll, Calvert Papers, No. 885½ f. 86.

¹⁴⁴ The author has a note, the source of which he can not trace. It reads: "Blythswood is the seat of the Douglas-Campbell family." For Campbell-Douglas I have a reference to Burke's Landed Gentry, 7, which I have not consulted, since it is not available.

the following information: "I think my grandfather saw the name [Blythewood] somewhere in the Lake region of England when he was there in the early 1860's and adopted it."¹⁴⁵

Except for a small strip of land along Charles Street Avenue, "Blythewood" is wholly included in "Ridgely's Whim," and most of it is included in that part of "Ridgely's Whim" which was surveyed for Charles Merryman, Jr., February 5th, 1704, and called "Merryman's Beginning." On September 24, 1861, the Rev. James Joseph Dolan and the Trustees of the Orphans' Home conveyed 15½ acres to Joseph A. Edmondson.¹⁴⁶ February 1, 1866, Mr. Edmondson bought 32 acres of William C. Conine and wife.¹⁴⁷ These lands, including a very small parcel purchased of Mrs. Fendall, composed the estate to which Mr. Edmondson gave the name of "Blythewood." The Conine property included a tract of some 18 acres purchased by Stephen Broadbent, Jr., of Sarah Jones, widow, July 17, 1860,¹⁴⁸ and was part of the farm known as Cedar Grove (*q.v.*).

Mr. Edmondson caused three houses to be built on "Blythewood," one for himself and one for each of his two sons. One of them, built partly of stone and partly of wood, and still standing, has had many owners, and is remembered as the Rulon-Miller house.

The northernmost of the three houses, a frame building, was pulled down in 1926. On its site was built, for the late Mrs. John Gilman and her daughter, the late Mrs. D'Arcy Paul, after designs drawn by Charles Adams Platt (1861-1933), the large and beautiful mansion, now the home of Mr. and Mrs. Hambleton Ober. The third house, still standing, which was separated from the others by Blythewood Road, was erected in 1867, and is the home of Mr. and Mrs. James R. Edmunds, Junior.¹⁴⁹

In conclusion, we quote, in part, Mr. Edmondson's letter to Mr. Williams, which is mentioned above. Referring to one of several photographs of the Blythewood lakes which were in the possession of Mr. Williams, Mr. Edmondson says:

¹⁴⁵ If there was a Blythewood in the Lake District, Bartholomew's Gazetteer (*op. cit.*) does not mention it.

¹⁴⁶ Towson, Maryland, Deeds. Liber 33, f. 152.

¹⁴⁷ Towson, Maryland, Deeds, Liber 47, f. 318.

¹⁴⁸ Towson, Maryland, Deeds. Liber 30, f. 105.

¹⁴⁹ I have it from Mr. Edmunds that this date is carved on his house.

As to the picture of water flowing over the dam, this shows the dam at the south end of the "upper lake" just after a heavy rain. This lake was on the northerly part of Blythewood, oval in shape and parallel with the R.R. It was about 175 feet long by 100 feet wide and was formed by damming the stream, Stoney Run. Its purpose, ornamental in part, was more particularly to operate an overshot wheel and ram which forced the household water up to a cistern in the top of the northernmost of the three houses on top of the hill. This water came from a natural spring across the R.R. in what is now Roland Park and was piped under the track over to the wheel house and thence forced up to the house. Stoney Run flowed from here south about 400 feet under a wagon bridge, to the "lower lake" which was much larger, about 375 feet by 150 and was formed by another and much larger dam, perhaps eight feet high, made of stone and topped with slabs of slate brought down from the quarries at Delta, Pennsylvania. Here too was a wheel house and ram which forced the same spring water up to the other two houses on top of the hill, in the upper of which my grandfather lived and we occupied the lower. This lake was stocked with fish, carp, mullets, &c. and had a boat. We got ice here for the two ice houses until we feared the water was polluted from Roland Park. This lake began to fill up about 1906 in the upper end but was still undiminished in size when we sold the upper one-third of Blythewood to John W. Garrett in 1907. The balance was conveyed to him in 1910.

G. M. Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore and Its Environs*, 1876, Plate T, shows the two lakes on "Blythewood" and the three dwelling houses.

HOMELAND

"Homeland," the estate of the Perine family, containing 391 acres, was sold by the heirs of the late Elias Glenn Perine (June 14, 1829-June 15, 1922) to the Roland Park Company, in 1924, for a consideration of not less than one million dollars. This eminent company "developed" the estate, retaining the name, "Homeland," by which it had been known since 1835. Before 1835 it was called "Job's Addition." The family graveyard of the Perines was removed from "Homeland" in 1922, in anticipation, no doubt, of the sale of the property. The 78-year-old mansion was razed in 1924.

"Homeland" is composed of divers tracts, and parts of

tracts, of land, including: part of "Job's Addition"; part of Vauxhall" (the land west of Charles Street Avenue); part of "Friend's Discovery" (lying north of Belvedere Avenue); "Bryan's Meadows" and "Addition to Bryan's Meadows resurveyed" (between the Homeland branch of Stony Run and the York Road); "Hannah's Lott" and part of "Sheredine's Discovery."

The kernel of "Homeland" is a tract of 150 acres, part of "Job's Addition." On it, upon the same site, have stood all of the four known dwelling houses of its owners. This piece of land is nearly a parallelogram, bounded on the north by Belvedere Avenue, on the west by Charles Street Avenue, and on the south by Homeland Avenue. On its eastern side its bounds keep close to the course of the Homeland stream. The southern part of "Job's Addition" lies below Homeland Avenue and has a different history, which will presently be taken up.

"Job's Addition," 225 acres, was surveyed for Job Evans, August 24th, 1695, who assigned it to James Butler, by whom it was patented.¹⁵⁰ Evans was the patentee of "Friend's Discovery," 1000 acres. In 1746 Leonard Decauss and Jane Bourdillon, separately, conveyed their rights in this land to Charles (later Colonel) Ridgely, the patentee of "Ridgely's Whim."¹⁵¹ In 1797 William Buchanan bought 150 acres, part of "Job's Addition," of Rebecca Ridgely.¹⁵²

Maulden Perine (1771-1794), who went from Harford County, Maryland, to live in Baltimore, married, October 22, 1793, Hephsobah Brown, of New Jersey, who married, secondly, November 10, 1799, the aforesaid William Buchanan (1746-1824), who was Clerk of the Court of Baltimore County, by whom she had issue. By her first husband she had David Maulden Perine, of "Homeland," (1796-1882), the father of Elias Glenn Perine, aforesaid. The former was for many years Clerk of the Court of Baltimore County, as his step-father had been

¹⁵⁰ L. O. M., P. R. L., Liber C. No. 3, f. 415, *et seq.*

¹⁵¹ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber T.B. No. E, folios, 192, 193.

¹⁵² Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W.G. No. 51, f. 388. In 1778, Darby Lux, the son-in-law of Col. Charles Ridgely, purchased of one James Duhurse, the whole of "Job's Addition." Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W.G. No. 3, f. 316). I have not tried to work out all the phases of this puzzling title.

before him. Mrs. Hephsohah (Brown) Buchanan died at "Job's Addition," November 4, 1832.

The following description of improvements on William Buchanan's part of "Job's Addition" is taken from a Particular Tax List of Patapsco Lower Hundred, Baltimore County, c. 1799-1800. This tax list is in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society:

William Buchanan—a tract of land near Govans Town—149 acres with a small tenement occupied by a negro man near Bryans say a log house 16 by 12. On the Land a barn & stable of log 40 x 18 do. stable 16 by 12.2 old negro houses 20 by 14 [and] 10 by 10. A framed 2 story dwelling 30 by 20, stone addition, 32 by 20, 1 story. a Kitchen partly of stone partly of wood 30 by 24. Fraime milk house 12 by 12. meat house 10 by 8.

The information which follows, and some of the information which has already been given, is taken from a superb illustrated history of "Homeland," compiled by the late Washington Perine, a son of Elias Glenn Perine. This history, which is in manuscript, is a true labor of love. A copy of it may be seen in the library of the Maryland Historical Society:

"Homeland" was named by David Maulden Perine. The original entrance (before Charles Street Avenue was extended through "Homeland," in 1854) was a narrow roadway leading in from the York Road at Govanstown. In 1839 Mr. Perine took down the original, frame dwelling house [it was actually partly of stone], built before 1797, and built, upon the same site, a stone house of about 100 feet front, with front and rear porches to the second story each supported by six columns. Robert Cary Long was its architect, and it cost about \$40,000. It burned down on the night of March 7-8th, 1843, while the family was living in the city for the winter. The fire was supposed to have been of incendiary origin. Not discouraged, Mr. Perine had plans drawn for another mansion, to be erected on the same site. This house was finished in 1846, and stood for seventy-eight years.

The ornamental "lakes," or more properly ponds, on Homewood, which have not been drained and are still things of beauty, were dug in 1843. A conduit was at that time con-

structed from the head-springs of the Homeland stream to the head of a hollow a short distance north of the mansion (where no doubt there was a spring). This conduit supplied the mansion and its outbuildings with water. The surplus water flowed down the hollow into the first of a chain of lakes lower down the valley. This conduit was 2100 feet long, and, in one place, seventeen feet under-ground. There were, in all, six lakes or ponds. One of them, which Mr. Perine calls the "third," was named "the Banjo Pond." They were not intended for swimming, but were used as ice-ponds. The last, or lowest, pond was stocked with fish. Their usefulness was incidental, however. Primarily, they were built for the purpose of beautifying the estate, and reflected great credit on the taste of the proprietor, for they must have cost a tidy sum. The springs which supplied the water for these water works and ponds were, presumably never failing, so long as "Homeland" was a farm, all fields and woods; but now that the old estate is covered with houses and roads, this is no longer the case, and city water must be introduced in dry weather, to keep the ponds from going dry.

The extension of Charles Street Avenue through "Homeland," in 1854, destroyed a number of apple trees in an orchard planted about 1800. The logs of these old trees were kept in storage, until 1902, when they were turned over to a cabinet maker and made into dining-room chairs. The Maryland Historical Society is the owner of two of these chairs. On the back of each one is carved a representation of one of the two mansions designed by Robert Cary Long, which stood on "Homewood."

THE BRYAN FAMILY

NOTRE DAME CONVENT AND SCHOOL

Among the "real" country people—early settlers of the Stony Run valley, or watershed, and their immediate descendants, as distinguished from Baltimore merchants, capitalists and professional men, owners of "country places," or a gentleman of elegant leisure, like Charles Carroll, of Homewood—were the members of the forgotten Bryan family.¹⁵³ The Tax

¹⁵³ Also O'Brien, Brien and Bryant.

List of Patapsco Lower Hundred, Baltimore County, *c.* 1799-1800, credits James Bryan with 600 acres, of which, according to my estimate, more than half was within the confines of this valley, all in one farm. This big farm descended, almost intact, to his son, Charles Bryan, who died in 1837. I have in hand a copy of a plat of this property of not less than three hundred acres, made soon after Charles Bryan's death (1837), showing the estate as divided among his wife and children, according to his will.¹⁵⁴ This farm included the present "Homeland" east of the Homeland stream; all of the Notre Dame Academy and Convent estate; all of the Albert country-place, "Cedar Lawn" (*q.v.*), lying east of the Convent property, south of Homeland Avenue; most of "Evergreen," and lands lying east of that estate to the York Road. It bounded on the York Road, though not continuously, for over a mile, and on the site of Charles Street Avenue from Homeland Avenue to the Homeland stream.

Entered in the register of Saint Paul's Church, Baltimore County, are the dates of birth of the three children of Thurlo Bryan [or Briant] and his wife, Cicelia, as follows. Benjamin, born 17 Sept., 1721; Mary, born 17 Jan., 1722; and James, born 15 April, 1725, of whom presently.

"Bryant's Chance," 50 acres, was surveyed for Henry Morgan, 22 January, 1742, and patented to him 31 August, 1743. It is described as being situated in Baltimore County, beginning "at two bounded red oaks standing on a hill near a branch called the Schoolhouse branch which descends into Jones Falls."¹⁵⁵ In point of fact, this "branch," as we have already seen, descends into Stony Run, then known as the Great Run. The place of beginning is on the former Crocker property, at the northwest corner of Charles Street Avenue and Cold Spring Lane, now the site of the Charleston Hall Apartments. As we observed above, the soil at that spot is exceedingly thin and poor and, apparently, on that account has been passed by. In the certificate of survey of "Ridgely's Whim" (*q.v.*), which was laid out February 4, 1744, it is

¹⁵⁴ The author is indebted to his friend, the late Edward V. Coonan, one time City Surveyor for Baltimore, for the loan of this plat.

¹⁵⁵ L. O. M., Patented Certificate No. 832, Baltimore County.

referred to as "Turlo O'Brien's land." This O'Brien, in spite of his Protestant affiliations, was almost certainly an Irishman. Henry Morgan, the patentee, conveyed "Bryant's Chance" to James Bryant, February 2nd, 1751. It is likely that the elder O'Brien, Bryan or Bryant was living on the land in question when Henry Morgan took it up. The date of his death has not been ascertained. His son, James, sold it, under the name of "Bryan's Chance," in 1788, to Abraham Van Bibber, an eminent Baltimore merchant and a man of the best social standing.¹⁵⁶ It thereby became a part of Van Bibber's "Paradise Farm," the site of Paradise Mill. Sixty years later the heirs of Mr. Van Bibber sold part of "Bryan's Chance" and adjacent parts of "Ridgely's Whim," $14\frac{1}{2}$ acres, to David S. Wilson. This was the western part of his estate called "Kernwood" (*q.v.*). In both deeds a plot of half an acre is reserved as the burying ground of the Bryan family. Where is this old graveyard? It is probably somewhere on the Loyola College grounds. The patriarch, Thurlo O'Brien, was, in all probability, buried there. I take it that he was dead by 1750, when Henry Morgan deeded "Bryan's Chance" to his son, James Bryan. The late City Surveyor, Edward V. Coonan, who is mentioned above, told me that Solon Linthicum, whose wife was a Bryan, showed him this graveyard. Mr. Coonan was born in Govanstown.

On October 30, 1756, James Bryan took up "Bryan's Meadows" 98 acres, situated between York Road and "Job's Addition," the old part of "Homeland," mostly, if not entirely, east of the Homeland branch, and forming today the greater part of "Homeland" lying east of that branch.¹⁵⁷ This land is described as "bounded by elder surveys," but a matter of $7\frac{3}{4}$ acres actually lay vacant between it and "Friend's Discovery," and, on Nov. 13, 1800, it was resurveyed and given the name of "Addition to Bryan's Meadows Enlarged."¹⁵⁸ In 1802 Bryan sold to one James Long, for only sixty dollars, a little piece of land, situated at the northeastern corner of "Addition to Bry-

¹⁵⁶ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W.G. No. B.B., f. 20. The deed from Morgan to Bryant is recorded among the Land Records of Baltimore County in Liber T.R. No. D., at folio 105.

¹⁵⁷ L. O. M., Patented Certificate No. 883, Baltimore County.

¹⁵⁸ L. O. M., Patented Certificate No. 74, Baltimore County.

an's Meadows Enlarged," lying at or about what is now the intersection of Homeland Avenue and the York Road.¹⁵⁹ In this deed is mentioned a place called "Cockey's Lane." It would thus appear very likely that long ago a lane branched off from York Road at this spot, going through "Job's Addition" to Thomas Deye Cockey's residence on part of "Ridgely's Whim" (*q.v.*). We must remember that in 1802 Cold Spring Lane did not "exist."

In 1763 James Bryan bought "Wheeler's Lot," 50 acres, of Mason Wheeler. This land lies on the east side of the York Road, a little above Cold Spring Lane.¹⁶⁰ In 1793 he purchased of Robert Gilmor and others, Lot No. 34, 89½ acres.¹⁶¹ This "lot" was part of "Sheredine's Discovery" (*q.v.*), a vast, sprawling tract of land, probably at one time a "barrens," once the property of the Principio Company and confiscated soon after the American Revolution. In 1794 he bought of Darby and William Lux the southern part of "Job's Addition," 75 acres.¹⁶² In 1800 he conveyed to William Buchanan "all his right" to 150 acres, being the upper, or "Homeland," part of "Job's Addition."¹⁶³ What right he had to it does not appear, but it is probable that this deed was intended to settle a boundary dispute. All these lands constituted a single farm of over 300 acres, which would not have amounted to much of an estate in a more remote section of the country; but it was situated in a part of the county which was destined soon to become "suburbanized," and the land is now basic to the title of a considerable portion of one of Baltimore's most important suburban areas.

On January 18, 1809, James Bryan made a deed of gift to his son, Charles Bryan, of Lot. No. 34, containing 89½ acres, part of "Sheredine's Discovery," 75 acres; part of "Job's Addition," bounded on the north by the land of William Buchanan; and part of "Wheeler's Lot," which had been conveyed to him by Wason Wheeler.¹⁶⁴ In his will dated June 18, 1812,

¹⁵⁹ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W.G. No. 72, f. 681.

¹⁶⁰ Deeds, Baltimore County, Liber B. No. L, f. 128.

¹⁶¹ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W.G. No. K.K. f. 516.

¹⁶² Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W.G. No. Q.Q. f. 36.

¹⁶³ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W.G. No. 62, f. 271.

¹⁶⁴ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W.G. No. 100, f. 334.

James Bryan devised to his son, Charles, the residue of his real estate in Baltimore County, including all but a small part of "Addition to Bryan's Meadows Resurveyed."¹⁶⁵

According to an obituary notice in a Baltimore newspaper, James Bryan died December 17, 1812, at his residence near Baltimore, in his 87th year. He is described as a native of Baltimore County.¹⁶⁶ Children mentioned in his will were: Nicholas Bryan, Eleanor Merryman, Elizabeth Hopkins, Mary Hopkins, and the aforesaid Charles Bryan.

The will of Charles Bryan was proved, September 6, 1837.¹⁶⁷ He married Harriet Hopkins (Baltimore County marriage license, dated April 11, 1807). By her he had three daughters, Mary, Elizabeth and Jane Cecilia, and a son, James Bryan.

Mary Bryan married Abner Linthicum, of Anne Arundel County, and died at Govanstown, January 7, 1892, in her 85th year.

Elizabeth Bryan married Wesley Constable.

Jane Cecilia Bryan married William Broadbent, Baltimore merchant whose place of business, on Baltimore Street was much frequented and well known in its day. He was the son of the Rev. Stephen Broadbent, a native of Halifax, England, and a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, born about 1767; died March 9, 1849, in his 71st year,¹⁶⁸ and is buried in Greenmount Cemetery. William Broadbent and Jane Cecilia Bryan were married January 16, 1842.¹⁶⁹ She was his second wife.

James Bryan is not mentioned in this author's abstract of his father's will. On February 8, 1850, his mother, Harriet Bryan, widow, made over to him the farm on which they were then residing, containing fifty acres.¹⁷⁰ This farm was bounded on the east by the York Road, and on the north, approximately, by the site of Homeland Avenue. The widow Bryan resided

¹⁶⁵ Baltimore County Wills, Liber 9, f. 287.

¹⁶⁶ Dielman Biographical Index, Md. Hist. Society, Heyward File, from the Baltimore *American*.

¹⁶⁷ Baltimore County, Wills, Liber 16, f. 340.

¹⁶⁸ Tombstone in Bryan lot, Greenmount Cemetery, Baltimore, Md.

¹⁶⁹ Dielman Biographical Index, Md. Hist. Society. Cecilia Bryan, Charles Bryan's youngest daughter, died March 25, 1870, in her 56th year.

¹⁷⁰ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber A.W.B No. 428, f. 131. The same day James Bryan leased this land to his mother.

on this land, in a house which stood on the north side of Notre Dame Lane.¹⁷¹ The Albert country-place called Cedar Lawn (*q.v.*) was part of this property. It has been suggested that the Albert "Mansion" was the old Bryan house, made over to suit more modern taste.¹⁷²

The author has a copy of an old plat (*c.* 1838) of the farm of Charles Bryan as subdivided among his widow and his three daughters.¹⁷³

Mrs. Harriet Bryan's will was proved August 7, 1866, and it seems likely that she died earlier that year.¹⁷⁴

Title to the land now owned and occupied by Notre Dame Convent and College may be traced to the Bryans. This land is part of "Job's Addition." The first parcel purchased by this institution was a tract of something over 33 acres. On August 19, 1847, Mary Linthicum, aforesaid, sold this land to the Rev. James Joseph Dolan, who, on November 9, 1850, made it over to the Trustees of the Orphans' Home.¹⁷⁵ The Trustees of the Home, together with Mary Taylor and Father Dolan, conveyed the property, at the price of \$600 per acre, September 7, 1858, to David M. Perine and the Messrs. Schoemacher and Reynolds.¹⁷⁶ This deed calls for "the church lot," a road to be laid out 20 perches wide (the future Homeland Avenue), and Charles Street Avenue. Tradition has it that the reason why Mr. Perine wanted to acquire this property was that a cemetery company was bargaining for it, a doleful prospect which displeased him.

On April 19, 1871, Messrs. Perine, Schoemacher and Reynolds sold this property to the School Sisters of Notre Dame.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷¹ Sidney's Map of Baltimore City and County, 1850, shows the residence of "Mrs. Brien" on the north side of this lane. Mrs. Bryan got about 150 acres as her share of her husband's estate, about 75 acres part of which is now part of Homeland.

¹⁷² I owe this suggestion to Miss Martha C. Bokel, whose family has resided in this immediate neighborhood for three generations.

¹⁷³ This original plat is not dated. It belonged to the late Edward V. Coonan.

¹⁷⁴ Wills, Towson, Maryland, Liber 3, f. 142. The testatrix mentions her grandson, Charles Henry Bryan and granddaughters, Anne Constable and Harriet Jennette Constable. Robert Taylor's Map of Baltimore City and County, 1857, shows the residences of Mrs. Linthicum (Mary Bryan) and that of Mrs. Constable (Elizabeth Bryan) on the York Road, near the entrance to Notre Dame Lane.

¹⁷⁵ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber A.W.B. No. 445, f. 337.

¹⁷⁶ Balto. Co. L. R., Towson, Md., Liber 23, f. 98.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Liber 70, f. 167.

The late J. Paul Baker told the author that he remembered the Notre Dame property when it was all in woods.

MONTROSS

On December 13, 1848, Mary Linthicum, of Baltimore County, widow, leased to Benjamin W. Woods, on a ninety-nine year basis, a tract of land, containing fifty-three acres, which had been assigned to her by indenture dated September 7, 1838, as her share of the real estate of her father, Charles Bryan. This tract of land was bounded on the east by the York Road and on the west by the given line of "Job's Addition." On the north it was divided by a straight line from land assigned to her mother, Mrs. Bryan, as her share of Charles Bryan's real estate.¹⁷⁸ Dr. Woods, who died in 1883, was in his day a well known physician.¹⁷⁹ For many years he lived in a brick house situated on a small piece of land at the southwestern corner of the York Road and Notre Dame Lane. Here, during the Civil War, he set up a private hospital for Union soldiers.¹⁸⁰ The land was part of the property he leased of Mrs. Linthicum, in 1848, as noted above. The house is still standing. In 1866 he purchased the land outright of Mrs. Linthicum. In 1885 it became the property of Mr. Patrick Gallagher, already a resident of Govanstown, whose granddaughters, the Misses Bokel still own it.¹⁸¹

On November 7, 1854, Dr. Woods leased to James Malcom, of Baltimore, for "an unexpired term of years," some nineteen acres of the property leased to him by Mrs. Linthicum, clear of Charles Street Avenue, which was extended through this property that same year.¹⁸² On August 10, 1859, Mr. Mal-

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Liber T. K. No. 406, f. 512; Liber T. K. No. 282, f. 148.

¹⁷⁹ Dielman Biographical Index, Md. Hist. Soc.

¹⁸⁰ This interesting information was given to me by Miss Martha C. Bokel, one of the three Bokel sisters who own "Pleasant Plains," daughters of the late Joseph Anton Bokel and Helen Theresa Gallagher, his wife, daughter of Patrick Gallagher, a native of Ireland.

¹⁸¹ Deed, Adam H. Nelker to Patrick Gallagher, 9 June, 1885, part of a tract of land which was conveyed to the late Benjamin W. Woods by Mary Linthicum, May 18, 1866. Mr. Gallagher was already in possession of adjacent property, which he had acquired by deed from Rachel N. Vaughn, Nov. 8, 1873. (deeds in the possession of the Misses Bokel.) This property bounded on the York road a distance of 496 feet and on "The road to the Church" (Notre Dame Lane), 298 feet.

¹⁸² Balto. Co. L. R., Towson, Md., Liber 10, f. 32.

com leased an additional piece of land of Dr. Woods, bounded on the north by the Orphans' Home property and on the west by Charles Street Avenue.¹⁸³ These two parcels of land, taken together, compose the estate known as "Montrose," which contained about twenty-three acres. Use of the spring was included in the first purchase.

On May 12, 1866, Dr. Woods conveyed to Lewis Turner all that remained of the land sold to him by Mrs. Mary Linthicum.¹⁸⁴

The Montrose mansion, built by James Malcom, is standing today on the grounds of Notre Dame College, a short distance to the northeast of "Evergreen," the John W. Garrett mansion. It is not less than a hundred years old. Mr. Malcom died there, May 10, 1864.¹⁸⁵ He was a distinguished lawyer, the son of Peter and Janet (Bell) Malcom.¹⁸⁶

"Montrose" was offered for sale in the Baltimore *American* of April 19, 1865. The property is described as situated three miles from Baltimore. The improvements on the property were said to include "a substantial, modern two story and a half Double Brick Dwelling embracing an elegant library, Drawing Room and Dining Room in the first floor."

On May 31, 1866, Rachel C. Malcom and William Crighton, administrators of James Malcom, late of Baltimore County, deceased, conveyed to Thomas F. Troxell, of the City of Baltimore, the Montrose estate, for a consideration of \$22,534.50.¹⁸⁷ Mr. Troxall died at "Montrose," December 10, 1871.¹⁸⁸ His executors, Naomi E. Troxall and Wilson R. Troxall, sold the place to the School Sisters of Notre Dame for \$25,584.50, subject to a yearly rent of \$476.25 (i.e., to Dr. Benjamin W. Woods).¹⁸⁹

(To be Continued)

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, Towson, Md., Liber, 26, f. 429.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Towson, Md., Liber 48, f. 524.

¹⁸⁵ Dielman Biographical Index, Md. Hist. Soc.

¹⁸⁶ *Spencer's Genealogical and Memorial Encyclopedia*, II, p. 403.

¹⁸⁷ Balto. Co. L. R., Towson, Md., Liber 49, f. 102.

¹⁸⁸ Dielman Biographical Index, Md. Hist. Soc.

¹⁸⁹ Balto. Co. L. R., Liber 81, f. 378.

SIDELIGHTS

PREDICTIONS OF A CIVIL WAR: 1832

By WILLIAM S. WILSON

General Israel D. Maulsby, who was born in Harford County in 1781, was remembered after his death in 1839 as an "eloquent and ingenious lawyer," and as "a large, fine looking, genial, and polished gentleman of the old school."¹ He had fought at the Battle of North Point, and served in the Maryland legislature for twenty-nine years. While a legislator, he wrote to his Senator, General Sam Smith, the letter of a veteran soldier, a Southern unionist, and a scholar of the old school. Just as the painters of his day posed statesmen in classical stances, General Maulsby poses the problems confronting statesmen in terms of classical history, and foresees a Civil War.

Belle Air

12 Mar 1832.

My Dear General:

I have been favored by your kind attention with your two speeches on Mr. Clays resolution in relation to the Tariff² (one a reply to Mr. Clay's rude and ungentlemanly attack upon you personally)³ and also with the speeches of Messrs. Grundy and Hill and of General Hayne on the same subject, and have read them

¹ Edward T. Schultz, *History of Freemasonry in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1885), II, p. 753.

² On Monday, January 9, 1832, Clay introduced a resolution "That the existing duties upon articles imported from foreign countries, and not coming into competition with similar articles made or produced within the United States, ought to be forthwith abolished, except the duties upon wines and silks, and that they ought to be reduced," *Record of Congressional Debates* for January 9, 1832.

³ Clay accused Senator Smith of establishing an obstructionist committee on Roads and Canals, and of changing his opinion on the tariff: "The honorable gentleman was in favor of protecting manufactures; but he had turned—I need not use the word—he has abandoned manufactures. Thus

'Old politicians chew on wisdom past

And totter on in business to the last.'

Smith replied, "Totter, sir I totter. Though some twenty years older than the gentleman, I can yet stand firm, and am yet able to correct his errors." *Record of Congressional Debates*, Monday, February 6, 1832.

all with great attention. It seems to me your idea of the advantages to the County arising from the reduction or repeal of the duties on the raw materials of the important articles of iron, wool, hemp & others, and all duties on dye stuffs, and so to modify the tariff as to cheapen all articles necessary to the working man thereby lessening the expense or cost of manufacture and enabling a fair competition with foreign fabric without the *bounty* protection, is most obvious.

But if it was not so, are the liberties & is the peace of this nation to be jeopardized to fasten and preserve a mere scheme of policy? Certainly not. *It is very clear*, a portion of this nation (and a most respectable & gallant portion of it too) will *no longer* submit to what they consider tyranny and oppression. They have petitioned, they have besought, they have reasoned, and they have at length protested agst. his unequal taxation. They have been answered by gibes and ridicule. Their statements of poverty and deterioration have been rebutted by men living thousands of miles from them, who profess to know their situation better than they do themselves, and an inexorable tone is replied to their complaints. What then is to follow? *It really seems to me, that there are men, who wish to see a Civil War.* And I am sorry to believe the southern feeling will be thrown into combustion by the late decision of the Supreme Court. I have read the southern speeches with attention, and have seen many extracts from their papers, if Congress by its decision on the subject growing out of Mr. Clays resolution, *clinch the nail of the tariff*, force will be resorted to, and our gallant & excellent President, can by no influence short of force (and perhaps not even by force) restore peace to our distracted country.

What reason have we to hope it will not be so? Is not the nature of man the same now, it was Eighteen Hundred years ago? Greece was a confederacy of republics, & less potent and durable causes than interest and power on the one hand, and a consciousness of oppression & determination of resistance on the other have frequently lighted the torch of civil discord and made the blood of kindred nations flow in torrents. Rome with her colonies, and allies, was a confederated republic and yet when was the Temple of Janus closed, and why should we suppose ourselves exempt from the baleful consequences of wild ambition mingled and fermented with all the angry passions of our nature? The hope is delusion, nor is there anything peculiar in the frame of our government to avert or controul such disastrous consequences. Our government rests upon the *public will*, and is more remarkable for the *liberty* it reserves to individual man, than for its *energy*. Where a majority will oppress, a minority must always be formidable and will constantly grow in strength.

Pardon this bold reasoning upon this most of all interesting topic. But our political firmament is so lowering and overcast, that I really feel deeply upon it. I have thoroughly examined myself, the result is this. I once volunteered and met and fought the Brittain, under your command in the defence of Baltimore; *I would not do so under any circumstances agst my fellow citizens of the south*; you will find thousands in the middle and northern states with the same sentiments & determination.

We hold a meeting here on Friday next to appoint conferrees with Cecil & Kent in order to select a delegate to the May Convention in Baltimore to nominate a Vice President. I shall try to have Mr. Scott appointed the delegate. We shall seize the occasion to express our confidence in General Jackson and shall not fail to render to yourself that tribute of approbation and thanks your able and distinguished conduct in congress have so justly merited.

I am, with distinguished respect,

your friend & servt

(I. D. Mausby)

Genl. S. Smith
U. S. Senate ⁴

⁴ The original of this letter belongs to the Hon. William S. Wilson, Jr., of Phoenix, Maryland. The writer's frequent use of dashes has been edited to conform to modern style but spelling and abbreviations have been unaltered.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, Maryland. By J. REANEY KELLY. Baltimore, The Maryland Historical Society, 1963. ix, 146. \$6.00.

With characteristic thoroughness and attention to detail, Reaney Kelly has traced the progress of the Quaker movement in Anne Arundel County and examined its influence in the early development of the County. It is well known that the original settlers of the County were Puritans who had suffered oppression in Virginia and were attracted to Maryland by the promise of religious freedom. What historians had previously failed to observe was that many of these Puritans, isolated and perhaps discontented with the formalism of Puritan doctrine, were converted to Quakerism, which was emerging as a religious movement in England about the same time the Puritans were arriving in Maryland.

Within a few years after George Fox had founded the Society of Friends, messengers were sent to the New World to publish the truth and gain "convincements," *i. e.*, persuade others to accept the truth. The first messenger to arrive in Maryland was Elizabeth Harris, who came to Anne Arundel County (then called Providence) about 1656. In the course of several visits, she and other messengers "convinced" many of the most prominent residents of the County, including members of the county and provincial governments. In summarizing this activity, Mr. Kelly concludes "that of Lord Baltimore's governing officials of the county between 1650 and 1654 and the Puritan representatives who controlled most of the Province from 1654 to 1658, a total of eleven became Friends."

What was even more remarkable, as Mr. Kelly points out, was that Elizabeth Harris and her fellow Quakers were allowed to pursue their religious beliefs and proselytize among the inhabitants of Maryland with little or no hindrance from the governing authorities, although the refusal of Quakers to swear to an oath caused some difficulty until special laws were passed to relieve them of this requirement.

By way of contrast, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, who are generally credited by historians as being the first Friends to arrive in America, were taken into custody immediately upon their arrival in the harbor of Boston. Their effects were searched, their books burned and, after five weeks in prison where they were held

incommunicado, they were shipped back to England. Other Friends who followed them were treated even more harshly and at least one was hanged.

The early records of the Quaker meetings have been remarkably well preserved and Mr. Kelly has used them freely in tracing the history of the several meetings organized in Anne Arundel County. Although informal private and public meetings had been held in various places since 1656, the first General Meeting was called by John Burnyeat at West River in April 1672. George Fox was present and participated in organizing the first Yearly Meeting in Maryland. Later that year, Fox opened a General Meeting at Tred Avon Creek, thus originating what is now known as the Third Haven Meeting at Easton.

Strangely enough, the early impetus attained by the Quaker movement in Anne Arundel County did not last long and signs of decline began to manifest themselves early in the eighteenth century. In analyzing the factors contributing to the decline, Mr. Kelly mentions the establishment of the Church of England, the conflicting views on slavery and the emigration of Quakers, particularly the younger generations, from the County. Today, there is not a single meeting in Anne Arundel; the only vestige remaining being the Old Quaker Burying Ground.

Genealogists interested in the early families of Anne Arundel County will find much useful information here. In fact, if there is any weakness in this work, it lies in the fact that occasionally the genealogical detail furnished in identifying an individual distracts the reader's attention and makes it difficult to follow the author's main thought.

The volume ends with a series of sketches describing houses built during the colonial period by Quakers, as follows: "Cedar Park," "Larkins Hills," "Whites Hall," "Tulip Hill," "Holly Hill" and "Sudley." Photographs of these houses are included among the illustrations.

All in all, Mr. Kelly has made a very important contribution to our knowledge of the early history of Anne Arundel County. Moreover, the information he has presented is thoroughly documented and may serve as a basis for further studies on the influence of the Quakers, not only in Anne Arundel, but in other counties as well. Finally, although his brief biographical sketch of the hitherto unknown Elizabeth Harris is admittedly incomplete, Mr. Kelly has presented us with sufficient data about her to indicate that this remarkable woman may well have rivalled, or even surpassed, Margaret Brent as a force and influence in Maryland history.

GUST SKORDAS

Here Lies Virginia: An Archaeologist's View of Colonial Life and History. By IVOR NOËL HUME. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1963. xxix, 317. \$7.95.

Archaeological investigations at numerous sites of early European settlement in the New World have in recent years provided abundant new evidence on Colonial life and times, supplementing that from other primary sources preserved in books and documents, old buildings and their furnishings fortunately surviving, and personal possessions long cherished. Yet these investigations are perhaps less widely known than are certain of their by-products, in restorations, reconstructions, and historical exhibits.

In no other sphere of settlement by colonists along the Atlantic Coast, perhaps, have these new studies been more fruitful than within that vast realm once claimed for Elizabeth I, particularly within the state whose very name evokes memories of the Virgin Queen. Place-names such as Roanoke, Jamestown, and Williamsburg have taken on a fresh and lively meaning in our time, in part because of noteworthy excavations and correlated researches at these and other sites. Beyond adding to previous knowledge, through the recovery of much informative and revealing evidence, long hidden and forgotten, efforts in this direction have in certain instances substantially altered and even corrected knowledge of the physical surroundings and conditions of life in the Colonies.

Here Lies Virginia, by the chief archaeologist of Colonial Williamsburg, presents some of the most significant and striking of these recent investigations, centering attention on excavations conducted by the author and by his colleagues elsewhere and on the essential collateral studies. Reasons are advanced why such work has been done, and why it should be extended to other sites also, at which archaeology may also serve as a handmaiden to history. For each of the topics and particular sites treated in his account, Hume's volume affords fresh and vivid reviews of the differing but related studies, through skilful selection and organization of his materials, a fluent and sensitive text, and the use of apt illustrations of superior quality, all brought within the covers of an attractive and well-made book.

The volume is a pioneering effort to survey and to assess progress of knowledge in a field of history having lasting significance for Americans, since comparable surveys of purposes, methods, and the varied results of such efforts at Colonial sites have been lacking. Hume's work, thus answering an obvious need, provides matter not to be found elsewhere in print so conveniently, together with some

that is probably little known except among those who have labored in this historical vineyard. Not a book of detailed analyses or of comprehensive syntheses, and not intended for use as a textbook, it is rather a timely tract, proportions ample enough to do justice to its topic, while designed to attract further talent to it and to arouse still wider interest than has yet been manifested. For those readers who wish more detailed information on individual sites and matters reviewed, a carefully selected set of references for further study is included—one of the first such finding lists for the newer literature of the subject.

Hume has succeeded in his effort to appeal and to inform at once, by his use of striking and significant materials, textual as well as pictorial. The book reveals the broader and deeper understanding to be had, in fortunate instances, of the physical realities of Colonial life and history from sustained and imaginative researches, both indoors and out. It is to be hoped that the volume will be widely known and read, clearly exposing, as it does, the abiding interest of its very human subject matter.

G. HUBERT SMITH

Smithsonian Institution
Lincoln, Nebraska

Puritan Protagonist: President Thomas Clap of Yale College. By LOUIS LEONARD TUCKER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962. (Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia.) xv, 283. \$6.

For good or ill, two precedents for American higher education were set at eighteenth century Yale College: the self-perpetuating single board of control and the strong presidency. Thomas Clap, a Harvard graduate, was responsible for both. After only five years as rector, Clap, by his new charter of 1745, changed his relatively weak office into the powerful one of president. For the next twenty-one years Yale was *his* institution. High-handed, petulant, and dogmatic, this thorough Calvinist with a "bullying personality" fought Arminians and Anglicans to keep Yale pure for Old Light then New Light Congregationalism. While he presided over the physical expansion of the College and in many ways proved himself a sagacious administrator, Clap was a Newtonian scientist especially interested in observational astronomy. The author holds that the "dualism"

in Clap's mind of scientific "relativism" and theological absolutism led him to tolerate the views of scientists who differed with him in matters of religious faith. This fits nicely with the standard account in intellectual history courses of eighteenth century scientists who interpreted their findings as "God's handiwork" or who thought of God as the "neutral spectator" of His Newtonian universe. The trouble is that there were varying degrees of Calvinism and various shadings of scientific relativism. Rarely were they kept in perfect balance. Attributing a harmonious dualism of science and religion to Clap's intellect tends to make his a bland Calvinism when in fact he was always "strenuous for Orthodoxy." And it saps the strength from the intellectual daring and toleration and faith of a man like Ezra Stiles, the later Yale president who epitomizes the Enlightenment in American academic life and who was a far "gentler" Puritan than Thomas Clap. Nevertheless Dr. Tucker has done well by a man who left no treasure of personal manuscripts for historians. His biography is sympathetic for the rôle of Clap in his society yet critical of the man's personal faults. It clearly traces church and state affairs in Connecticut throughout the Great Awakening, and it contains one of the best accounts we have of undergraduate life in a colonial college.

WILSON SMITH

The Johns Hopkins University

Mitre and Sceptre: Transatlantic Faiths, Ideas, Personalities, and Politics, 1689-1775. By CARL BRIDENBAUGH. New York: Oxford University Press, 1962. xiv, 354. \$7.50.

Following the lead of his recent presidential address to the American Historical Association, the author has himself helped meet the great need for a better understanding of American religious history. Limiting his scope chronologically, he seizes upon a most revealing social and intellectual experience of early America. Arthur L. Cross's study of the Anglican drive for American bishops established the broad historical significance of this episode. The present study uses the movement to penetrate an era of intellectual tension which was deeply a part of the provocation to rebellion in 1776. An original contribution is made possible also through extensive use of the records of the Dissenting Deputies in England, private papers of the protagonists, and the colonial press as a barometer of social feeling as well as ideas.

The mitre was conveniently near the sceptre in England but not

so in America. There New England colonial charters freed Congregational and other Dissenters from both and for a long time even kept out High Church Anglicans. By 1700, however, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel addressed itself to the task of remedying this condition. It met with a violent rebuff, even though some Anglicans did eventually find a place of worship and win conformity from a few eminent New Englanders.

Under the leadership of such able men as Ezra Stiles of Yale, intelligent collaboration developed with influential men of like mind in England. Dr. Benjamin Avery and others of the Dissenting Deputies there kept a protective shield against the ulterior thrusts of Churchmen, which was always feared to be directed at ultimate establishment of episcopacy in America in the form found in the mother country. In the open press rather than in the precincts of government councils, the American Dissenters successfully defended their freedom. The famous William Livingston debates in the *Independent Reflector* became a landmark. The Rev. Patrick Alison, the learned Baltimorean, went in the service of the Presbyterian Synod to New England Dissenters in one of several overtures toward a defensive union in the face of an impending episcopacy. The American Revolution ultimately secured the provincial Dissenter society of New England from High Church imposition. Elsewhere other Christian quasi-establishments were greatly modified and republican episcopacy emerged in the American Protestant Episcopal Church.

Mitre and Sceptre must not be taken to imply a study of the Church of England in its American dimension. The focus is still on Dissenter Protestantism. This is perhaps why the treatment of Church partisans leaves something to be desired. *Prima facie* deviousness of men in controversy needs rather detailed examination before stronger characterizations can be attached to an incident of portrayal. This is even more the case when complex adjustment of public policy with a growing regard for personal freedom is the topic of controversy. There was much liberal thought among American Churchmen. Many leaders on both sides, on the other hand, thought within some construction of quasi-establishment. New England Dissenters were the last to give up such a practice.

The excellent unity of the story probably would have been marred by a comprehensive related account of Maryland, Virginia and other southern colonies. An adequate picture of the Church of England possibly could not even then have been gained. For this a view must be taken from the mitre at the head of the empire; from London outward, rather than from within New England or

the Southern Colonies. Professor Bridenbaugh has opened the way to the task and demonstrated the craft of social and intellectual history with which to accomplish it.

THOMAS O'BRIEN HANLEY

Marquette University

By Sea and By River: The Naval History of the Civil War. By BERN ANDERSON. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1962. xiv, 303. \$5.95.

This study of a comparatively neglected field, by a Rear Admiral, U. S. N. (Ret.), and onetime fellow editor with Samuel E. Morison of the *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*, will probably attract any "buff" and will certainly instruct any specialist of the Civil War. This is because, presumably for the first time, an attempt is made to assess the strategic value to the Union of its naval arm both here and in Europe. The attempt is comprehensive and detailed, and the result should stand as a useful complement to Richard S. West's *Mr. Lincoln's Navy* (1947). Annotation is kept to a minimum, and bibliography is excluded altogether "inasmuch as this is an interpretation of the significance of the naval aspects of the Civil War rather than a documentary account . . ." (pp. vi-vii). The index is adequate, though far from complete. The double-page map cluster is outstandingly inadequate. Ample, but doubtless not undue, correction is administered to the traditional tendency to overstate the rôle of the ground forces in the great conflict. Although the author's Preface implies that he is offering an estimate of both sides, such is not the case. This is a study from the Federal point of view, with the Confederate Navy barely considered. Of the twenty illustrations only three are allotted to Southern subjects.

Perhaps the following animadversion is irrelevant to Admiral Anderson's purpose—if so, apologies are in order. But it seems to this reviewer that the present work and similar types of military history lose, or deliberately ignore, a unique and vital element in a book designed for a general audience when their authors assume what may be termed the "captain's cabin" or "headquarters tent" point of view. From such a place the commanding officer looks at a map, makes his decision, and issues his order without once having to contemplate the raw edges of a shell hole or the damp bulges of a litter case. In a real-life situation this is as it should be. But in a printed reflection of real life the result is the banishment of the

precious, green detail. Instead of a painting we have a diagram. What we then see is informative: it should be illuminating.

How is it feasible to transmute such subtle and/or tremendous human rencounters as Farragut at Mobile Bay, or Bulloch in England, into a numbing succession of declarative sentences? Read about them in this book, and find out.

CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS

Baltimore, Md.

The Amazing Mrs. Bonaparte: A Novel Based on the Life of Betsy Patterson. By HARNETT T. KANE. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1963. 301. \$4.50.

This is pleasant young-adult reading, the story of the pretty Baltimore girl who married Napoleon's brother Jerome. Its book-jacket, which calls her "the woman who tried to be Empress of France," is hardly accurate. Betsy did have hopes, until Napoleon's second marriage produced the King of Rome, that her own son Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte might one day be his heir; the possibility of her husband's succeeding as emperor was pure fantasy. Betsy did not try to be Empress of France; it was hard enough to be recognized merely as Mrs. Bonaparte. Napoleon, when he mentioned her, called her "Miss Patterson."

He ordered Jerome home in disgrace—without Betsy. Jerome went; Betsy went with him; but then the French consul took over. Jerome was sent to join Napoleon in Italy. Betsy found eventual refuge in England, and there her baby was born.

In the course of a long life she never met Jerome again. She saw him once, at a distance (he was King of Westphalia then) accompanied by his second wife. Meantime Betsy, back and forth between Europe and America, consulting with the Bonapartes, quarreling with her father, had never given up her fight. If she never became a queen, she did become a legend in her own time, one of the more formidable American heroines.

Mr. Kane writes, as always, interestingly and plausibly. He has done ample research, and his acknowledgment list reads like a telephone directory—nearly six pages. But he needed one person more, a Marylander who, reading *The Amazing Mrs. Bonaparte* in manuscript, would have caught the slips, like the several "John Carroll of Carrolltons," which set the Marylanders' teeth on edge.

A more careful Doubleday editor, too, would have saved Mr. Kane from remarking that the Duke of Wellington was "like an English fawn."

ELLEN HART SMITH

Owensboro, Kentucky

The Darkest Day: 1814. The Washington-Baltimore Campaign.

By CHARLES G. MULLER. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1963. 232. \$3.95.

The Darkest Day in this case is the day the British burned the capital city of Washington in the course of the War of 1812. Mr. Muller opens his narrative with an outline of the political situation leading up to the war, and follows with the raids in Chesapeake Bay in 1813 which served as a prelude and a warning to the more dramatic amphibious operations the next summer. After describing the fiasco at Bladensburg and the occupation of Washington he turns to the successful defense of Baltimore against the invaders and the courageous behavior of the defenders which compensated in no small measure for the unpardonable mismanagement of our leaders in the capital. He concludes with a summary of the Treaty of Ghent which restored peace on the basis of the *status quo*, and thus emphasized the fact that there was really no need for the war.

The author has added nothing new to the accepted versions of the campaign, though he is perhaps more charitable than other writers have been to the pitiable performance of our army at Bladensburg. Like writers before him he has quoted generously from the colorful accounts of the British subaltern George Robert Gleig, John P. Kennedy who fought with the Maryland Fifth Regiment at Bladensburg, and other contemporaries. Mr. Muller's is a sound, conscientious work which omits none of the details and packs the whole story into the brief space of 232 pages. Five maps, so essential to an understanding of accounts of battles, are included. The volume is one in the Great Battles of History series edited by Hanson W. Baldwin, military correspondent of the New York Times.

FRANCIS F. BEIRNE

Baltimore, Md.

A History of the Maryland and Pennsylvania Railroad. By GEORGE W. HILTON. Berkeley, Calif.: Howell-North Books, 1963. 179. \$5.

The Ma & Pa could well have become a competitor to the mighty Pennsylvania Railroad in the Maryland and Pennsylvania area if the dreams and plans of its predecessor lines had come true. The Baltimore banking firm of Alexander Brown had much to do with the forming of the Ma & Pa by consolidating a number of small narrow gauge and standard gauge railroads to form the standard gauge Maryland and Pennsylvania Railroad in 1901.

From its Baltimore terminus at North Avenue and Howard Street to York, Pennsylvania, is a distance of 49 miles, as the crow flies, but the Ma & Pa covered 77 miles to reach its northern terminus at York. It took 4 hours and 10 minutes to cover this distance. This picturesque route included 111 bridges and 476 curves. As the author pointed out, it could have been called "The Route of the Screaming Flanges" as 47% of the track was on a curve.

In its early days, the passenger traffic was quite plentiful. It consisted of travelling salesmen, relatives, shoppers and varied commuter services. Sunday excursions to "Rocks" was quite popular. The milk business was quite profitable and the early morning train to Baltimore was informally called "The Milky Way." Passenger service in the last few years before abandonment in 1954 consisted of commuter service in reverse. The 7.10 A.M. train out of Baltimore carried day workers to farms and homes in the suburban area, north of Towson, who returned to Baltimore on the late afternoon train.

Steam motive power lasted until 1956 when Diesel power took over. The favorite and most popular steam engine was #6, a light 4-4-0 which was scrapped in 1952. The Maryland portion of the road was abandoned in 1958 but the remaining portion in Pennsylvania is still in service.

Professor Hilton's book is well illustrated with 175 photos and will help keep alive the memory of this delightful little railroad for many years to come.

GEORGE F. NIXON

Baltimore, Md.

Shipcarvers of North America. By M. V. BREWINGTON. Barre, Mass., Barre Publishing Company, 1962. 173. \$12.

Since not all ships return, Mr. Brewington feels he cannot have written "a definitive history; the materials are far too widely scat-

tered to permit any one man discovering half of them. But it is hoped the main thread of the story has been accurately traced." It has indeed, and much more. This is an excellent book, well written and well researched, with a good index, bibliography, and list (by states) of American shipcarvers. The notes and references are brief but adequate, and the book as a whole beautifully presented, illuminated by nearly 150 fine photographs and drawings.

Mr. Brewington, formerly Curator of the Navy and presently Assistant Director and Curator of Maritime History at the Peabody Museum of Salem, is an authority on the maritime history of Chesapeake Bay, and this interest is reflected in a large collection now in the Maryland Historical Society. His Maryland research discovers only one Annapolis shipcarver, Henry Crouch "from London," who "lived somewhat obscurely" in Annapolis for less than two years before he died, in 1762; but "who was deem'd by good Judges to be as ingenious an Artist at his Business, as any in the King's Dominions." It is highly possible, of course, that some of the known Annapolis ship-carpenters were capable of carving. From Baltimore Mr. Brewington lists fifteen carvers, their working dates ranging from 1789 to 1868, one from Solomon's and three from Woolford. Of special interest in Maryland, also, is Mr. Brewington's appendix on the frigate *Constitution*, many relics of which remain in the state.

Frigates, packets and clippers have had their day but, as Mr. Brewington says, "As long as romantics go down to the sea under sail there will always be a few figureheads afloat." If their carvers need an illustrated textbook they will find an admirable one here.

ELLEN HART SMITH

Owensboro, Kentucky

The Secession Conventions of the South. By RALPH A. WOOSTER.

Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962. viii, 294. \$6.50.

Using materials hitherto generally neglected, the manuscript returns of the Eighth United States Census (1860), Professor Wooster has gathered much basic information about participants in secession conventions, as well as those in the legislatures of states which considered secession, but did not hold conventions. Investigating the situation in each of the 15 slave states, the author estimates that he examined some 195,000 manuscript pages of Schedule No. 1, Free Inhabitants, searching for information as to the individual's wealth, occupation, place of birth, slave holdings,

etc., in order to make meaningful statistical comparisons between secessionists and cooperationists. This kind of painstaking and scholarly research will be welcomed by future students, and should save them from making unsupported generalizations.

No longer will anyone be able to postulate a "great planter" conspiracy, nor unqualifiedly maintain that elderly, conservative Whigs favored accommodation, while young, hot-blooded Democrats favored secession. It is now clear that these attitudes varied from section to section and from state to state. In comparing Mississippi and Alabama, for example, the author shows that only in the latter was wealth a factor in determining secession viewpoints. Traditional county political patterns often provided a clue to secession feelings, yet Wooster points out that such was not the case in Louisiana, nor was it true when Breckenridge counties showed the weakest southern rights strength in Missouri's convention. A final chapter reaches some tentative over-all conclusions, noting for example that secessionist sentiment was particularly strong in counties containing $62\frac{1}{2}\%$ or more slave populations, and the opposite was true in counties with less than $12\frac{1}{2}\%$ slave populations.

The work is the product of fundamental research, illustrated with state convention voting maps and containing 70 statistical charts, which make valuable comparisons between those individuals favoring and those opposing secession. The author has utilized abundant primary and secondary materials; his thoroughness is perhaps best illustrated by the number of Masters' essays he has found to shed light on local activity. Useful annotations are in the footnotes as well as in the bibliographical note preceding a selected bibliography.

Since this is not history in the grand manner, the author generally presents his evidence and allows the reader to reach his own conclusions. The average reader will find it a dull and dreary book, peopled with statistics rather than people, and containing none of the excitement, color, and high drama usually associated with this critical period. The specialist, on the other hand, will stand indebted to Professor Wooster's fortitude.

MARVIN W. KRANZ

Georgetown University

American Strategy in World War II: A Reconsideration. By KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1963. x, 145. \$4.50.

The traditional view has been that while President Franklin D. Roosevelt made the United States' major political decisions affecting World War II, he left the strategic military decisions to his professional military advisers, that is, to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Two decades later that tradition is challenged and, impressively enough, by the scholar who more truly than any other individual shaped the Army's official 60-odd-volume history, *The U. S. Army in World War II*.

This is Dr. Kent Roberts Greenfield, for 16 years Chairman of the Johns Hopkins Department of History and, from 1942 on, a distinguished specialist in American military history. From that year to 1958, as the Army's Chief Historian he planned, organized, and administered the Army's great project for a fully documented record of World War II in all its multiple aspects of command and staff, of continuous planning and performance, of combat troops and technical services. To that work he gave unending thought and attention, selecting the historians and the editing staff; watching, encouraging, guiding, conducting the office seminars at which each historian's drafts were critically examined by colleagues and by outside critics, and setting the pace for this monumental library.

It is with that impressive background that Dr. Greenfield (who must be one of very few who literally read and reread every word of the Army histories which poured from the press during those years) now undertakes a reexamination of fact and hitherto accepted tradition. In one of four concise chapters (each chapter based on a recent lecture) he closely examines the major strategic problems, and concludes from the evidence that Mr. Roosevelt himself initiated many of the decisions (military as well as political) and in several instances overrode the judgment of his military advisers—in two cases not wisely but often proving a better judge of requirements than the Joint Chiefs themselves. In the President's considered judgment (endorsing the British Chiefs' position) against a 1943 cross-Channel attack, time proved him right; likewise in his plan for an enormous output of effort for rapid plane construction; likewise in his insistence upon merchant-shipbuilding for Britain even when the Navy was groaning for warships. Dr. Greenfield relentlessly quotes the experts' gloomy prophecies which were not fulfilled. "He liked to play by ear," Dr. Greenfield remarks, in explaining some of the Roosevelt policies; perhaps that is the explanation of Mr. Roosevelt's flexibility of policy, often infuriat-

ing at the time but undeniably effective in coping with unpredictables as they arose.

The other chapters deal with (1) what the author regards as the eight major strategic decisions and the reasoning back of them; (2) the conflicts of British and American policies—the decision frequently supporting a realistic British position, and Mr. Roosevelt personally responsible for it; and (3) the problems created by the new epoch of air power. Altogether a thoughtful and useful book, with some judgments quite different from those which have been generally held.

MARK S. WATSON

Baltimore, Md.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782.* By the MARQUIS DE CHASTELLUX. A Revised Translation with Introduction and Notes by HOWARD C. RICE, JR. Chapel Hill; Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg by the University of North Carolina Press, 1963. 2 vols. xxiv, 688. \$15.
- Black Utopia: Negro Communal Experiments in America.* By WILLIAM H. PEASE and JANE H. PEASE. Madison, Wis.: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963. ix, 204. \$4.
- Baptismal Records of Apples Church (Lutheran and Reformed) (near Thurmont, Maryland), 1773-1848.* Prepared for publication by ELIZABETH KIEFFER, Hudson, Wisconsin; The Hudson Star-Observer Print, 1963. 90. \$3.25.
- New Discovery From British Archives on The 1765 Tax Stamps for America.* Edited by ADOLPH KOEPEL. Boyertown, Penna.; American Revenue Association, 1962. 27. \$5.
- Queen Anne's County Maryland Marriage Licenses, 1817-1858.* Compiled by RAYMOND B. CLARK and SARA SETH CLARK. Washington, D. C., 1963. 58. \$5.
- Confederate Handguns.* By WILLIAM A. ALBAUGH III, HUGH BENET, JR., and EDWARD N. SIMMONS. Philadelphia; Riling and Lentz, 1963. xix, 250. \$20.
- My First 80 Years.* By CLARENCE POE. Chapel Hill; the University of North Carolina Press, 1963. xvi, 267. \$4.75.
- Prelude To Yorktown: The Southern Campaign of Nathanael Greene, 1750-81.* By M. F. TREACY. Chapel Hill; The University of North Carolina Press, 1963. vi, 261. \$6.
- The Jeffersonian Republicans in Power Party Operations, 1801-1809.* By NOBLE E. CUNNINGHAM, JR. Chapel Hill; The University of North Carolina Press, 1963. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg. ix, 318. \$7.50.
- Charles Evans, American Bibliographer.* By EDWARD G. HOLLEY. Urbana, Ill.; University of Illinois Press, 1963. xii, 343. \$7.50.
- The Whirligig of Politics: The Democracy of Cleveland and Bryan.* By J. ROGERS HOLLINGSWORTH. Chicago; The University of Chicago Press, 1963. xii, 263. \$5.

- This Was Chesapeake Bay.* By ROBERT H. BURGESS. Cambridge, Md.; Cornell Maritime Press, Inc., 1963. xi, 210. \$10.
- Old Maryland Families.* By HENRIETTA E. BROMWELL. Reprint. Baltimore. Genealogical Publishing Company, Inc., 1962.
- Henry L. Stimson and Japan, 1931-33.* By ARMIN RAPPAPORT. Chicago; The University of Chicago Press, 1963. viii, 238. \$6.
- The New Democracy in America. Travels of Francisco de Miranda in the United States, 1783-84.* Translated by JUDSON P. WOOD. Edited by JOHN S. EZELL. Norman, Oklahoma; University of Oklahoma Press, 1963. xxxii, 217. \$4.95.
- The Leaven of Democracy.* Edited with an introduction by CLEMENT EATON. New York; George Braziller, Inc., 1963. xvi, 490. \$8.50.
- The Nation Transformed.* Edited with an introduction by SIGMUND DIAMOND. New York; George Braziller, Inc., 1963. xiv, 528. \$8.50.
- The Southern Frontier.* By JOHN ANTHONY CARUSO. Indianapolis; Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1963. 448. \$6.50.
- Victorian Antiques.* By THELMA SHULL. Rutland, Vt.; Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1963. 421. \$12.75.
- The Everlasting South.* By FRANCIS BUTLER SIMKINS. Baton, Louisiana State University Press, 1963. xv, 103. \$3.50.

NOTES AND QUERIES

1964 House and Garden Pilgrimage—Following is the schedule for the 27th Annual Tour: May 1, Friday—Green Spring Valley, Baltimore County; May 2, Saturday—Anne Arundel County (no buses); May 3, Sunday—St. Mary's County; May 4, Monday—Historic Landmarks of Baltimore City; May 5, Tuesday—Ruxton, Baltimore County; May 6, Wednesday—Homeland Walking Tour, Suburban Baltimore; May 7, Thursday—Carroll County; May 8, Friday—Harford County; May 9, Saturday—Talbot County (no buses); May 10, Sunday—Queen Anne's County (no buses).

WATER CRUISES FROM BALTIMORE TO OXFORD, EASTERN SHORE OF MARYLAND: May 16, Saturday—Chesapeake Bay Cruise and Tour of Oxford; May 17, Sunday—Chesapeake Bay Cruise and Tour of Oxford.

The Pilgrimage is sponsored by the Federated Garden Clubs of Maryland, the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities, the Maryland Historical Society, the National Society of Colonial Dames of Maryland and the Baltimore Museum of Art. For further information, call or write Maryland House and Garden Pilgrimage, Room 223 Sheraton Belvedere Hotel, Baltimore 2, Maryland. Phone: VE 7-0228.

MRS. FREDERICK W. WAGNER, JR., *Chairman*

New Bremen Excavation—The second season of excavation at the site of the New Bremen Glassmanufactory of John Frederick Amelung, south of Frederick, Md., has been completed. The excavation was organized by The Corning Museum of Glass with the cooperation of Colonial Williamsburg and the Smithsonian Institution.

The Glassmanufactory was established by Amelung in 1784 with the help of a group of German glassmakers whom he brought from Bremen, Germany. Though active for only 10 years it produced the most refined and distinguished glass made in America until the 19th century and its output was particularly notable for the number of elaborately engraved presentation pieces. Until 1962 when the same team carried out the first professional excavation of the site

little was known concerning the extent of Amelung's factory or the nature and size of his furnaces. The encouraging results of the first season which uncovered a fritting furnace of imposing size and of a type hitherto unrecorded in America prompted a continuation of the project.

According to Paul N. Perrot, Director of the Corning Museum of Glass and Administrative Director of the excavation, "the correctness of our estimates concerning the extent and importance of the remains has been more than vindicated. An extremely large structure 112 feet by 65 feet was uncovered. A preliminary study of its plan indicated that it housed at least two glassmaking furnaces and several ancillary structures all closely related in what, for its age, forms an imposing industrial complex."

In addition to the buildings and furnaces a large number of glass samples were uncovered, particularly rich in fragments of pattern molded and ribbed tumblers and flasks of types which have not hitherto been directly linked to Amelung's production, as well as great quantities of remains from simple utilitarian pieces which are quite ordinary in quality.

"With this second excavation we are concluding our work at the Amelung site," stated Mr. Perrot. "Our purpose was to uncover as much new information as possible on one of our most distinguished early industries, and permit a clearer evaluation of Amelung's place in the history of glass. This goal appears to have been reached and we expect in the not too distant future to publish a summary of Mr. Noel Hume's findings in the *Journal of Glass Studies*, a Corning Museum publication. The shed built last year over the first furnace will remain and we may add one or more protective structures this year over our new finds. Should it prove desirable to do further work at a later date we have the gracious permission of the owners to do so. In the meantime we hope that the site will not be molested by souvenir hunters and that all those interested in the preservation of the remains of 18th century industrial American will consider this small corner of Maryland a shrine from which sprang a fine tradition in glassmaking which exerted an important influence on the development of the industry particularly in Western Pennsylvania and the Pittsburgh area."

The Council of the Alleghenies, Grantsville, Md.—This organization has recently been formed by present and former residents of the area to preserve the vast almost untapped resources of natural beauty, cultural treasures and rich heritage of the region. The

Council intends to coordinate the efforts of many local organizations within the area in such a way as to cut across state and county lines in effective unified action.

Hagley Museum Fellowships—The University of Delaware, in cooperation with the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, will award two or more Fellowships in April of 1964 for the academic years 1964-1966. Each fellowship carries an annual stipend of \$2,000 and is renewable upon satisfactory completion of the first year. Applications should be received by March 5, 1964. For further details, address the Chairman, Department of History, University of Delaware, Newark, Del.

Knight—I want information regarding the parents of Ignatius Knight who married Eliza Twist or Turst in 1817. Their children, born in Baltimore County, Md. were: Lloyd, b. 1818 at Patapsco Falls; Lawrence, who moved to "Alamode" Missouri in later life; Lavinia (m. Wertz) lived in Altoona, Pa.; Lucinda (m. Saylor); and Anna Rebecca, b. 1838 and married first to Brau who lived three days, and then to D. K. Ramey who lived in Altoona.

MRS. LEO MANVILLE

46 Ogden Avenue, White Plains, N. Y. 10605

Posey-Currie-Knott-Clarke—Which son of Walbert Posey (Charles or St. Mary's Co.?) and Margaret Currie married Elizabeth Knott, daughter of Francis Knott and Ellen Clarke about 1785.

NORMA C. POLI

42 Valencia St., St. Augustine, Fla.

Cardinal Gibbons—Loyola College, Baltimore 10, announced a year ago the establishment of the Cardinal Gibbons Memorial as a perpetual monument to the memory of a great Maryland figure. Under the direction of John Q. Feller, the Memorial is collecting letters, photographs, books, and memorabilia of James Cardinal

Gibbons. Any relevant material would be deeply appreciated and should be sent to Mr. Feller at the College, c/o The Cardinal Gibbons Memorial, Baltimore 10, Maryland.

American Association for State and Local History—Awards of Distinction from the Association were conferred October 4th on Christopher C. Crittenden, Director of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, and Ernst Posner, of American University, Washington, D. C. The special awards, first to be given by the Association, have been instituted to recognize distinguished service in the field of state and local history. Recipients will be presented with a medallion and citation. In announcing the Awards, the chairman indicated that the special commendations will not necessarily be conferred annually and will be limited to individuals who have rendered long and exceptional service to the state and local history movement.

The Association has awarded its first \$1,000 manuscript prize to Richard Beale Davis, Alumni Distinguished Service Professor of American Literature at the University of Tennessee, for his book, *Intellectual Life In Jefferson's Virginia, 1790-1830*, which will be published next spring under Association sponsorship, by the University of North Carolina Press. The \$1,000 prize is offered annually under the Association's research and publication program, with competition open to both professional and amateur historians. The award goes to the author of the unpublished, book-length manuscript that, in the opinion of the Association's research and publication committee, makes the most distinguished contribution to United States or Canadian historiography.

Errata—Lines 13-14 of the letter from Frederic Bernal to Lord Russell dated September 23, 1862, and published in the September, 1963 *Magazine* (p. 251), are in error. From the original document the sentence should read: "Mr. Kennely complied, and the tenour of his opinion was that the President should take advantage of the first Federal victory to issue a Proclamation to the South, assuring them that he had not the least intention of attacking their rights, and offering them every guarantee of the same."—Ed.

COVER PICTURE

The Cover Picture is a lithograph published by E. Sachse and Company of Baltimore and also possibly of St. Louis. The scene, after the fashion of Currier and Ives, depicts the bustling life along the Cumberland Road. The exact location or name of the inn are unknown, but evidently the building was a waggoners' inn of which there was one built about every three miles. Archer Butler Hulbert mentions a place called the Sign of the Green Tree (1808) in Washington, Pennsylvania. It was one of the famed resting places for pioneers moving westward and a green tree is prominent in this picture.¹

Not a great deal is known about Edward Sachse. He emigrated from Germany at the age of thirty-six, in 1840, and his name first appears in the Baltimore *Directory* of 1851 at 3 North Liberty Street. By 1860, he was joined by his brother Theodore, and by the time of the publication of the "Inn of the Roadside," the company was working at 5 North Liberty Street. Sachse probably printed hundreds of such works. He is best known for the "Birds Eye View of Baltimore, 1869" and other lithographs: the "Camp of Duryea's Zouaves, of New York, on Federal Hill," (1861), "Fort Federal Hill" (1862) and "The United States Army General Hospital, Patterson Park, Baltimore" (1836). Sachse died in 1873.²

R. W.

¹ Hulbert, *The Old National Road: A Chapter in American Expansion* (Columbus, 1901) p. 106. Thomas B. Seawright, *The Old Pike . . .*, (Uniontown Pa., 1894).

² George R. Brooks to Harold R. Manakee, June 27, 1963; John D. Kilbourne to George R. Brooks, July 30, 1963, Correspondence File, Md. Hist. Soc. The St. Louis lithograph is "St. Louis from Lucas Place" c. 1859. Two others are deposited in the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis 12, Mo. *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLIV, opp. 106. Library of Congress, *An Album of American Battle Art* (Washington, 1947), p. 248. James H. Bready, "Edward Sachse's Amazing 1869 Map of Baltimore," *The Sun*, April 3, 1960. Copies of the "Birds Eye View" are in the Peale Museum and the Md. Hist. Soc. Other Sachse prints are in the Cator Collection, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore.

CONTRIBUTORS

LLOYD M. ABERNETHY is Assistant Professor of History at Beaver College, Glenside, Pennsylvania.

REV. THOMAS O'BRIEN HANLEY, S. J. is Assistant Professor of History at Marquette University. A student of early Maryland history, he is the author of several articles and reviews in the field and the book, *Their Rights and Liberties* (1959).

SPENCER WILSON and ROBERT G. SCHONFELD are studying for advanced degrees at the University of Maryland. The present article grew out of the seminar of Dr. Aubrey C. Land, Professor of History and chairman of the department at Maryland.

WILLIAM S. WILSON, III is a member of the Department of English, Queens College, Flushing, N. Y.
